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ABSTRACT

This report presents the results of a national study of American youth on relations between the races, particularly black-white relations. The study surveyed youth between the ages of 15 and 24 years in three parts: (1) a national telephone survey of 1,170 young people; (2) face-to-face, in-depth interviews with 78 additional young people nationwide; and (3) two focus groups with young whites--one group college-educated, the other not--in Raleigh, North Carolina. The publication begins with a group portrait derived from the study of the children of the Civil Rights Era including a discussion of the racial divisions, hopeful trends among youth on race, and a vision of a new moral consensus on race. The second major part presents the study and its findings. After an introduction and executive summary, key findings are analyzed in the following eight sections: (1) social perspectives; (2) social values; (3) views of race relations in America; (4) race relations and personal interaction; (5) reactions to policy approaches; (6) voices of minority America; (7) voices of the white majority; and (8) the challenge of leadership in the 1990s. Appendices contain the following: a discussion of methodology, a copy of the filled-in questionnaire, focus group materials, and the questionnaire and an overview of the participants from the one-on-one interviews. Extensive tables and figures illustrate the report. (JB)

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. . . Most blacks
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DEMOCRACY'S

NEXT

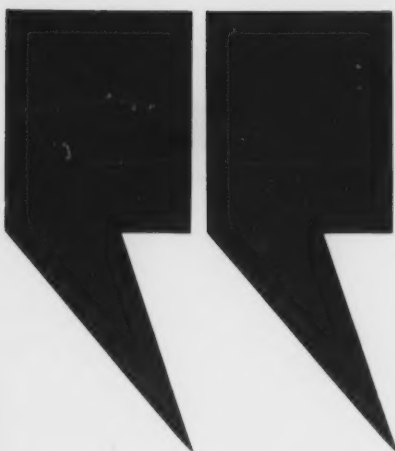
A STUDY OF AMERICAN YOUTH ON RACE

People For the American Way

GENERATION II

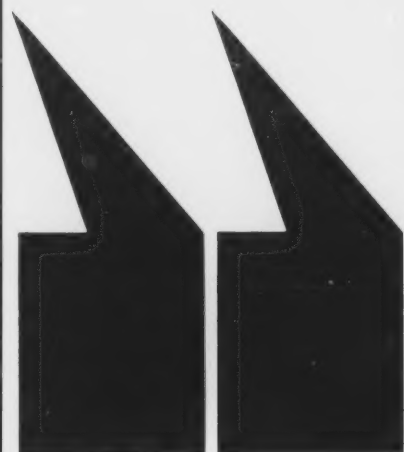
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People For the American Way**

GENERATION II

**People For the American Way
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THE CHILDREN OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ERA: A GROUP PORTRAIT

In a mood of profound pessimism about the future of race relations in America, Thomas Jefferson once wrote: "Deep-rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections by the blacks of the injuries they have sustained ... will divide us..." Today, as we publish this study, his words still reflect a painful truth. Racial division remains the central moral challenge facing America -- a challenge that will not be met without fresh insight and renewed resolve.

Centuries of social struggle brought our nation to the threshold of legal equality for all citizens by the 1960s. Since then, the moral consensus moving the nation forward has stalled, and the public dialogue on issues of race and ethnicity has fractured into a cacophony of competing voices. Added to the mix is a growing Hispanic population, now battling its own unique set of social and economic barriers.

In many ways, this is the worst of times for social progress in our nation. As economic pressures mount for all Americans, more doors close on minorities, and short-term self-interest muffles the appeal to conscience necessary to move our nation closer to true equality and mutual respect. Exacerbating the problem, a growing number of elected officials are exploiting racial divisions for their own political gain. The cost of this moral breakdown is rising racial tensions across America -- on our campuses, in our schools, our city streets, our neighborhoods and our workplaces.

To halt this new and vicious cycle of division, we must look to the next generation of Americans who will assume stewardship of this democracy into the next century. One of the most important responsibilities young Americans of all backgrounds will assume is building a national community truly united around the values we share. Unlike their elders, whose attitudes have hardened, young people are teachable on the subject of race relations and must be reached, early and effectively.

As an important first step, People For the American Way enlisted Peter D. Hart Research Associates to conduct this national study of American youth between the ages of 15 and 24. The study was conducted in three parts: a nationwide telephone survey of 1,170 young people; face-to-face, in-depth interviews with 78 additional young people nationwide; and two focus groups. The study includes data on relations among blacks, whites and Hispanics, but focuses most extensively on black-white relations. Since feelings on this volatile topic are often confused or deeply buried, all three layers of research were essential to capturing the complexities of youth and race in America.

What emerges from this data is the first fully detailed portrait of the children of the civil rights era. These young Americans have no living memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the passage of the Civil Rights or Voting Rights Acts, the Selma march or the Montgomery bus boycott. Nonetheless, they have grown up in the crucible of change wrought by the civil rights revolution -- a time of increased ra-

cial integration in the nation's schools and workplaces, but also widespread backlash against affirmative action, and heightened polarization between blacks and whites.

This study reveals young America in all its complexity -- a sometimes surprising mixture of noble ideals and angry prejudices, of aspirations and anxieties. Understanding both the strengths and weaknesses of the next generation is essential. Without a clear picture of who our young people really are -- not who we wish they were, or fear they might become -- we cannot enlist their help in our nation's crucial challenge: forging a new moral consensus on race.

FINDINGS, PART ONE:

Dangerous Divisions Among America's Youth

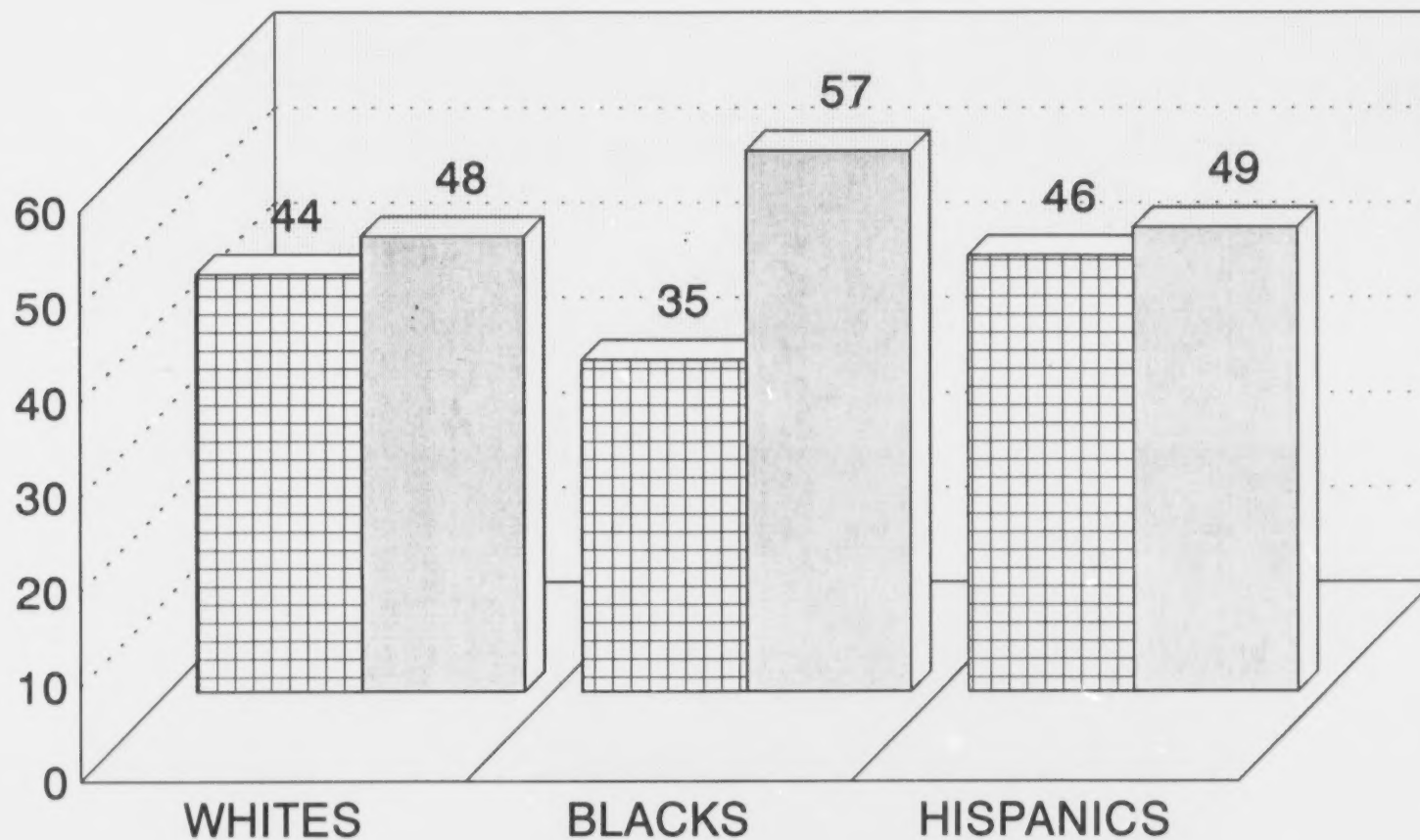
1. Young people have a gloomy view of the state of race relations in America today.

"I would say it's kind of bad ... In my community or with the people I hang around, there seems to be tension between white people and black people."

— young black woman, 18

Reflecting the interracial conflict that surrounds them in their daily lives, 50 percent of America's youth today describe the state of

FEELINGS ABOUT RACE RELATIONS IN THE U.S.



 GENERALLY GOOD  GENERALLY BAD

race relations in our nation as "generally bad." Although all groups of youth -- white, black, and Hispanic, -- concur with this assessment, the negative perception rises highest (to 57 percent) among black youth. Asked to explain how they formed this negative view, young people pointed to such underlying factors as the persistence of discrimination, hatred and anger, to bigotry aimed at Hispanics as well as blacks, and to a mutual enmity between blacks and whites that appears intractable.

Further, a majority (55 percent) of youth of all races agree that both whites and blacks "tend to feel more uneasy" dealing with members of the other racial group. Even higher proportions of blacks (62 percent) and Hispanics (60 percent) say that whites tend to be more uneasy dealing with blacks. "Our cultures are too different; it causes too many problems," says a 24-year-old young white woman. "It seems like the whites fear black people," observes a 16-year-old Hispanic young man.

Young America gives our nation mediocre to poor grades on handling the race relations challenge. A majority (52 percent) say our nation is doing "just okay" or "not so well" on encouraging positive relations among people of different races. In in-depth interviews, minority young people in particular voice frustration at the leadership vacuum on racial issues. "Some people are still prejudiced," says a young black man, 19. "There are not many blacks in power." "You have people like David Duke running ..." says an Hispanic young man.

2. Young people have a widening "perception gap" on issues directly affecting their economic self-interest.

*"I mean I'm going to be going to college soon,
and I don't want to be turned down because I'm white."*

-- white young woman, 16

In an era of belt-tightening and increased economic pressures, America's young people have been thrown on the defensive, guarding their own personal interest in getting a good education and competing for jobs. It's not surprising, in this context, that young whites and young blacks or Hispanics perceive affirmative action efforts from very different vantage points.

Young white Americans, aware of the nation's economic downturn and pessimistic about the future, view themselves as equally vulnerable as minorities. A narrow majority of young whites (51 percent) opposes colleges' giving "special consideration to minority students." An even larger majority of white youth (65 percent) opposes "special consideration to minority job applicants." Focus group participants make the reason for this opposition explicit: they see more help for minorities as translating into less help for them in tough economic times.

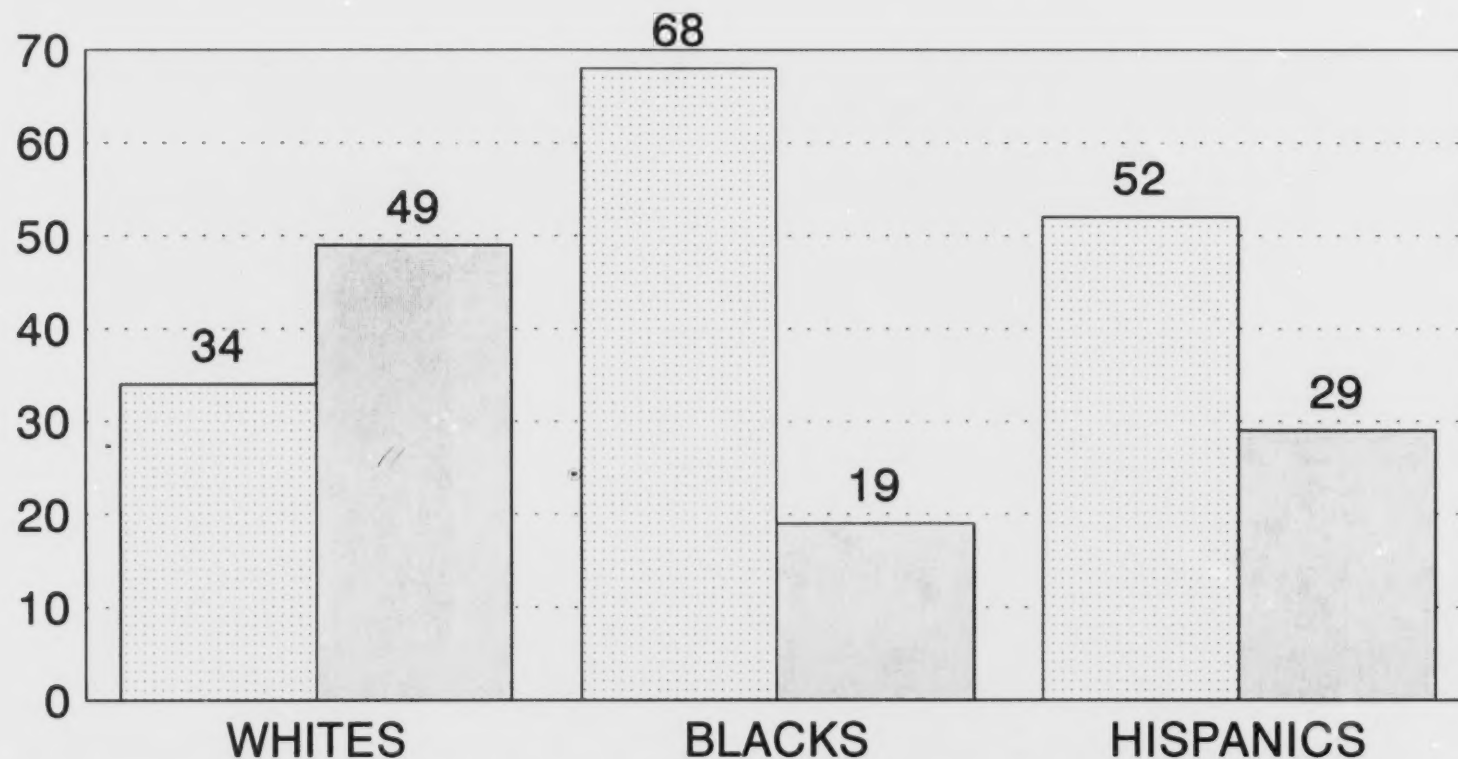
The findings also demonstrate the corrosive effect of "hot button" rhetoric in sharpening racial divisions on these issues. For example, if the term "special preference" -- a phrase politicized by the Bush Administration and others -- is substituted for the term "special consideration," white opposition shot upward, to 64 percent regarding education efforts and to 78 percent regarding employment.

Black youth take the opposite view on most of these questions. Looking through the lens of their own experience, they see such efforts as essential to compensate for ongoing inequities. "Because whites have had an advantage and the upper hand on things for so many years," comments one black high school graduate, "I think it's a very good idea to have financial aid and special considerations given to the minorities...." Majorities of both black (74 percent) and Hispanic (57 percent) youth endorse such "special consideration" by colleges. As it did with white youth, the support drops if it is phrased as "preferences."

A majority (60 percent) of black youth also support such "special consideration" for minorities in hiring, while Hispanics are evenly divided (43 percent yes, 46 percent no). Majorities of black youth (50 percent) and Hispanic youth (57 percent) reject such help if it is phrased as "special preferences."

The racial perception gap on opportunity issues comes into even sharper focus when white, Hispanic and black youth were asked: which is more likely to happen today, qualified minorities losing

WHICH PROBLEM MORE LIKELY TO HAPPEN IN OUR SOCIETY TODAY?



15

16

 MINORITIES LOSE OUT  WHITES LOSE OUT

scholarships, jobs and promotions because of prejudice, or qualified whites losing these opportunities because minorities get special preference? By a 49-34 percent margin, whites say they are more likely to lose out. By a 68-19 percent margin among blacks, and a 52-29 percent margin among Hispanics, minorities believe they are more likely to lose out.

Some young whites seem eager to scapegoat minorities for their own economic problems, in an escalating "blame game" that feeds inter-group anger and distrust. "I have to struggle just as hard as an Hispanic person. But these days, I have to struggle even more because I see more scholarships and more grants and loans available for minorities than I do for myself," says a 20-year-old white youth.

3. Many young white Americans cling to negative and sweeping stereotypes of black America.

"They stay on welfare too long. And they seem to take their problems out on the whites."

— young white man, 17

Old-fashioned bigotry, like a stubborn stain, persists among democracy's next generation. Substantial numbers of white Americans, when probed for their deeper feelings on racial issues in face-to-face interviews and focus groups, volunteered harsh and sweeping ra-

cial stereotypes relating primarily to underclass images of crime and welfare dependency.

For most white youth, fears about crime lead to gross negative generalizations about the black community. Fifty-six percent of young whites agree strongly or somewhat with the flat statement that "white people would not be safe going into most black neighborhoods" -- even though the question specifies only the race of the residents, not the neighborhood's character or income level. Participants in a white non-college-educated focus group linked black Americans to images of drugs and violence, and admitted being frightened of black people. Asked to characterize the major difference between blacks and whites, an 18-year-old white male states: "There seem to be more gangs on the corner in black neighborhoods."

Many white young people have also picked up on an older stereotype about black people: that they are "lazy" and depend on government help. "Because of background, blacks don't have the same enthusiasm or the same work ethics as whites," says a young white man, 23. Asked why black Americans tend to suffer economic disadvantages in our society, one white young woman of 18 replies, "They are lazy and it would be better if they weren't doing drugs." A white 19-year-old young woman asserts: "I think the black race counts on the system to support them." Summing up the contemptuous attitude of a significant slice of the white community, one 16-year-old young man says: "Blacks don't appreciate what we give them."

FINDINGS, PART TWO: Hopeful Trends Regarding Youth and Race

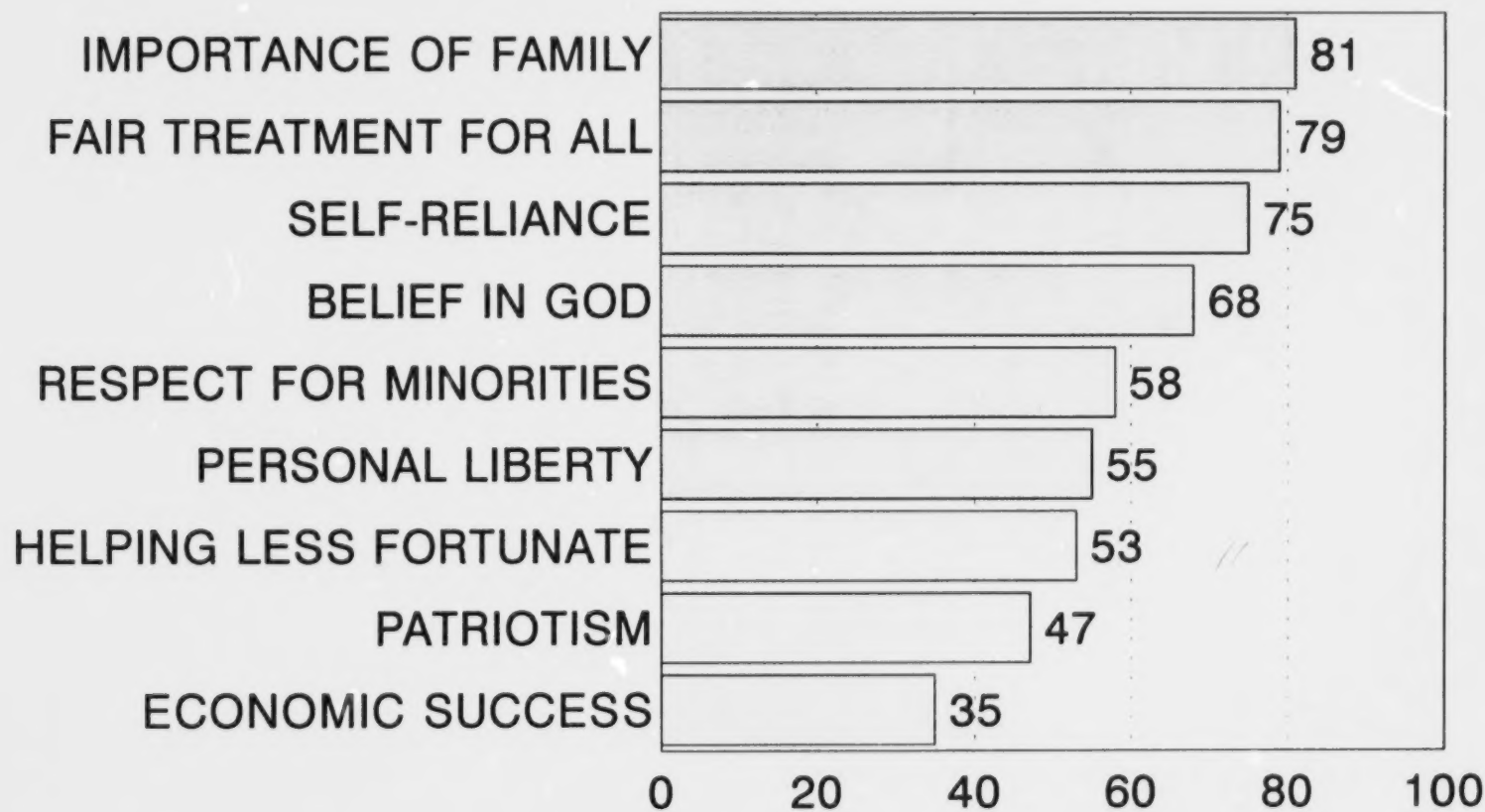
1. There is a strong interracial consensus among American youth on such core values as family, personal responsibility and fairness for all.

"If it's a belief, it doesn't have a color. You don't believe something because you're black. You believe it because it's true, or it's something that you believe in your heart.

-- black male college student, 22

Young blacks, whites and Hispanics -- too often driven apart by fear, misunderstanding and myth -- are united behind a strong set of moral values. Asked to rank a list of different values Americans care about, an overwhelming majority (81 percent) of all youth and 80 percent of white youth called family "extremely important," support that went even higher among blacks (87 percent) and Hispanics (87 percent). Second in importance to American youth was "fair treatment for all" (79 percent "extremely important"), at 77 percent among white youth, with blacks (86 percent) and Hispanics (85 percent) even more likely to give this value high priority. The third choice of all youth (75 percent calling it "extremely important") was "emphasis on self-reliance and taking responsibility for yourself" -- at 73 percent among white youth, while blacks (84 percent) and Hispanics (77 percent) again register even stronger support.

RATING SELECTED VALUES AS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT AMONG ALL YOUTH



□ RATINGS OF 9 + 10

Young Americans also have a shared conception of the formula for success in America today. Whites, blacks, and Hispanics concur that getting ahead is the result of three factors: education, hard work, and a fair chance. The success of efforts toward racial equity depends largely on the extent to which those endeavors operate in this context.

It's clear that minority youth are starting out with a strongly ingrained value of responsibility. Many volunteered their own personal determination to succeed despite the odds, and urged others to do likewise. "You have to teach yourself to go higher and higher," said one 19-year-old Hispanic female. A young black woman who recently graduated from high school notes: "To achieve the same kind of jobs [as whites have] [blacks] have to work twice as hard." Asked how blacks can remove the economic disadvantages they face, one black male high school graduate says: "Get out there and really go for it."

Youth of all races see the assumption of personal responsibility by each American as one of the key elements of the remedy for the current problems of race relations. An overwhelming majority of all youth (77 percent) and even larger majorities of black youth (82 percent) and Hispanic youth (79 percent) said that getting people "to take more responsibility for themselves, rather than blaming others for their problems" would "help a lot" in dealing with racial issues.

But young Americans feel strongly that the personal responsibility equation only works if this nation has a truly level playing field in terms of opportunity. Asked to describe the most important approach-

es to reduce racial tensions, young people offered such answers as "treat everyone equally," and "don't judge because of skin color." One 15-year-old white young woman sums it up: "We should make everything equal."

2. Most young Americans today have significant personal interaction with people of other races, including friendships.

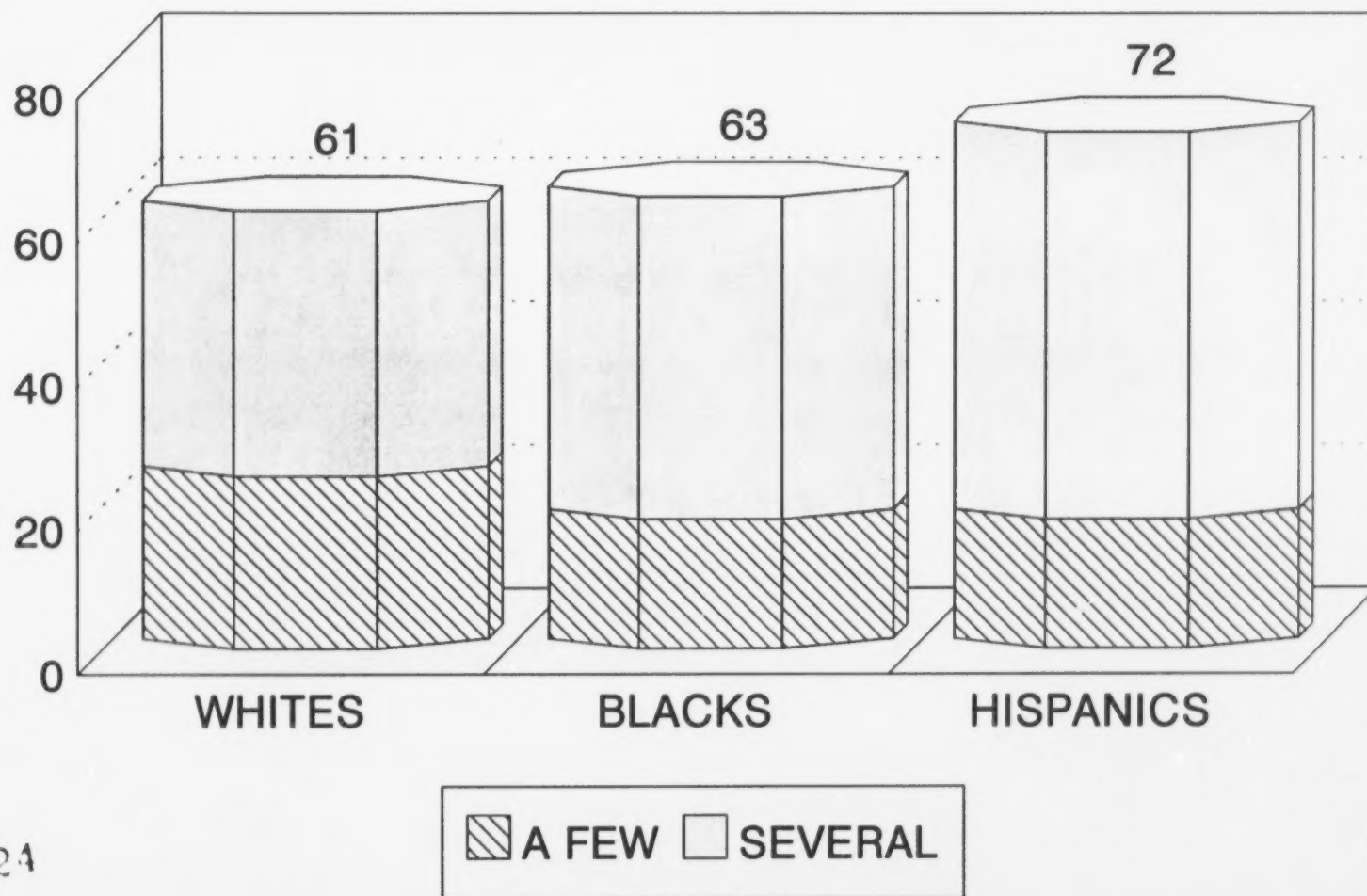
*"I have several friends that are black...
I get along with all of them."*

-- Hispanic young man, 23

In sharp contrast with earlier generations of Americans, today's youth have far more one-on-one experiences with individuals of other races -- at school, at work, and socially. A remarkable 71 percent of all youth report having at least one "close personal friendship" with a person or several people of a different race. Majorities of all youth report mixing at school (62 percent), at work (54 percent), and during social activities (58 percent).

These interracial contacts are a regular part of the day-to-day life of a majority of today's youth. Fifty-six percent said they come into contact with people of other races and ethnic groups "very often." One 16-year-old Hispanic young man sees it this way: "A lot of people are starting to understand each other. People get married from different

HOW MANY CLOSE PERSONAL FRIENDS OF DIFFERENT RACES DOES RESPONDENT HAVE?



racess, and they do a lot of things together."

Personal friendships may contribute to better understanding, but do not bridge the gap between groups created by stereotypes and myths.

Young white focus group participants told moving stories about friendships with individual blacks, while repeating or assenting to negative cliches pinned on blacks as a group, such as "lazy" or "waiting on a handout."

3. Today's young people see themselves as part of a positive generational change on race relations.

"I think it's like a chain. Every day or every year there's a link taken out so it's a little bit better. I mean it's better than 50 years ago."

-- young white woman, 21

While half of youth view race relations today as generally bad, young Americans tend to be more positive when asked to look at the nation's overall direction on this problem. By 55 percent to 34 percent, youth see race relations as "getting better" rather than "getting worse." Black youth are the most pessimistic, remaining evenly split on this question (43 percent say "getting better," 46 percent say "getting worse"). An Asian young woman captures the overall view of race relations well: "I think they are getting better, but really slowly."

Young people know that the struggle to eradicate discrimination in our society is far from over. Fully 82 percent of young Americans, including 82 percent of young whites, concur with the statement that "racial and ethnic minorities still face a lot of discrimination in our society." By 61 percent to 38 percent, they reject the contention that "racial and ethnic discrimination was a problem in the past, but it isn't really a serious problem any more." "I think a lot of groups are discriminated against and most people just look the other way and do nothing about it," says a young white woman, 20.

One measure of progress youth frequently point to is their greater comfort level on racial issues, as compared to their parents' generation. By 43 percent to 9 percent, youth saw themselves as "more comfortable dealing with people of other racial and ethnic groups" than their parents. (The remainder see no generational difference.) "When my parents were growing up (they're from the South), they were taught that the more they put down black people and the more they antagonized them, the bigger the rewards that they would get..." says one 20-year-old white young man. "However, my parents finally did discover that no, it wasn't true. While they still held a few prejudices, by the time it reached me, I had relatively few prejudices."

Another clear indicator of American youth's ownership of their role in this historic progression is their strong backing for the goal of racial integration in our society. A majority of youth (56 percent) rates racial integration as a "very important" goal for our nation. And

young people are hopeful that this goal will be realized. Sixty-two percent say that racial integration "could really happen" in America. "I think that it is possible," says one white 17-year-old young woman, "but there are so many people against it. There are whites who are against it, and there are blacks who are against it." Agrees a young Hispanic man: "You got to learn to live together, especially in the U.S. This is a melting pot of different ethnic groups."

CONCLUSION: Toward a New Moral Consensus on Race

*"They should talk to our youth more because we're
going to be the ones making tomorrow..."*

-- Young woman, 17

This study sends a clear message: racial divisions are taking root among a new generation of Americans, and we must act now to stop and reverse this process. We cannot afford an attitude of benign neglect on racial issues, because this nation will not heal itself. Instead, we must rededicate ourselves to the task of freeing America from the destructive patterns of interracial tension and mistrust, and removing the lingering stain of bigotry.

People For the American Way believes that the most logical place to begin this task is by targeting democracy's next generation. In approaching this complex challenge, this study provides some important signposts:

I. Racial division is a serious problem among young people today, and we must confront it and deal with it honestly.

Our young people reflect a complex array of attitudes toward race. Yet it is clear that significant division and, yes, outright bigotry persist among our youth. Everyone who is in a position to influence young people: parents, teachers, religious leaders, politicians, and other young people -- must make addressing this problem a priority.

II. A crucial first step is to ask young people to examine their racial attitudes.

Many of the young people in this study -- particularly young whites -- had never been asked by an adult in their lives to take time to examine their attitudes toward race. We learned, again and again, that when youth looked within, they were more likely to recognize their own prejudices and acknowledge that such attitudes run counter to their own ideals.

III. We must mint a new language of racial reconciliation.

Young people today are growing up in a vastly changed social and economic climate from just a few decades ago. Words and ideas that resonated with earlier generations have been twisted and distorted by those standing in the way of racial progress. We must find new ways to articulate the moral imperatives of racial progress that will have meaning for today's youth, beginning with broad consensus values identified in the study: fairness for all and personal responsibility in a society that addresses social inequities and provides a truly level playing field.

IV. As a nation, we must focus our efforts on addressing the issues on which racism feeds, thus breaking the escalating cycle of blaming between whites and minorities.

Our study shows that, too often, young whites blame minorities and young minorities blame whites for social problems. A continuation of this cycle will merely push each group deeper into a defensive corner. It also makes it easier for politicians who seek to exploit differences to divert attention from the real problem: lingering prejudice and unfairness directed at minorities in our society. We must provide young Americans with a positive formulation of fairness behind which they can rally.

V. We must issue a moral challenge to the next generation to live up to its stated ideals.

This study suggests that young America, if summoned to do so, will support the principle of racial fairness and mutual respect. These young people are beginning life with high ideals, more inclined on balance to hope than to hate. To a great extent, what tips the balance will be the messages they hear as they mature. To date, most national leaders, and others in a position to reach our youth, have failed to nurture their best instincts. We must summon young Americans to their better natures, through public communication and personal example.

DEMOCRACY'S NEXT GENERATION II:
A STUDY OF
AMERICAN YOUTH ON RACE

THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

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Introduction

America stands at a momentous social crossroads. As citizens of a culturally diverse nation whose population comprises growing proportions of minorities, we must learn to diminish friction and to interact with and understand one another in new ways. Prejudice and intolerance breed only enmity and conflict and perpetuate misconceptions; we must, instead, develop a public dialogue that is based on commonalities, on shared values and goals, on mutual respect, and on fairness.

To this end, People For the American Way commissioned Peter D. Hart Research Associates to undertake a major study of the social values of American youth, with a particular focus on issues of race and ethnicity. The project encompasses three elements:

- a nationwide telephone survey of 1,170 young people age 15 to 24;
- face-to-face, free-ranging audiotaped interviews with 78 youth in small towns and large urban centers across the country; and
- two focus groups with young whites--one group college-educated, the other not--in Raleigh, North Carolina.

All aspects of this study were completed in October through December 1991. Project design and analysis of the results were undertaken by Geoffrey D. Garin and Debbie Klingender of Peter D. Hart Research Associates.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This summary presents an overview of the findings from an in-depth study of how young Americans between age 15 and 24 approach the central issues of race relations in our society.

The portrait that emerges from this research defies simple categorization. Attitudes of young whites, blacks, and Hispanics toward race and race relations, like those of their parents, are complex and sometimes contradictory. Much of what we have learned from our findings is encouraging and cause for hope, but other aspects are deeply troubling. Far too many young Americans, for example, rely on stereotypes that serve to divide one group from another, even when their own experiences with people of other races run counter to the prevailing stereotypes.

Clearly, there still is a great deal of work to be done in achieving the day when race relations in America are marked by mutual understanding instead of mutual resentment.

This study was designed to explore values, experiences, and perceptions of intergroup relations, rather than to measure attitudes toward politics and matters of policy. But race has become, unfortunately, a highly politicized issue in America today. While each side in the political debate will find elements in this research to confirm its position, the real point is that there are significant challenges to all sides in these findings, and particularly demanding ones for those who seek the responsibility of leading the next generation of Americans.

A Foundation of Shared Values

Young Americans of all backgrounds have come to invest genuine moral weight in the value of fairness. When asked to rate the importance of various social values, eight in ten youth put an exceptionally high priority on "fair treatment for all, without prejudice or discrimination." Seventy-seven percent of young whites say this is an extremely important value, as do 86% of young blacks and 85% of young Hispanics.

This common commitment to fairness can provide an important foundation for bridging some of the gulfs that persist between different races and ethnic groups. Other results from our survey suggest that young Americans maintain high ideals about the importance of overcoming the differences that separate people by race and ethnicity.

Surprisingly, for example, 84% of all young Americans say that "more racial integration" is an important goal, including 56% who say it is *very* important. Eighty-two percent of whites, 87% of blacks, and 92% of Hispanics describe integration as an important goal.

By equally impressive margins, young Americans strongly reject the notion of separatism in American society. Eighty-seven percent disagree with the statement, "It is generally best if the people of each race keep to themselves," including 66% who *strongly* disagree. The results are virtually identical among whites, blacks, and Hispanics.

A commitment to fairness and an integrated society is part of the foundation of shared values among young Americans. An equally vital part of that underpinning is a conviction about the importance of personal responsibility.

Seventy-five percent of young Americans place a high priority on the value of self-reliance and taking responsibility for oneself. Eighty-four percent of young blacks rate this as an extremely important value, as do 77% of Hispanics and 73% of whites. Similarly, 77% of all youth say that getting people to take more responsibility for themselves, rather than blaming others for their problems, would help a lot in dealing with the problems of race and poverty in our society; 82% of blacks, 79% of Hispanics, and 76% of whites respond this way.

Young Americans also have a shared conception of the formula for success in America today. Whites, blacks, and Hispanics concur that getting ahead today is the result of three factors: education, hard work, and a fair chance. (It is interesting and troubling to note that better educated young blacks are more skeptical about whether this formula alone will guarantee success; they are more likely than others to believe that "having the right connections" also is essential.) The success of efforts toward racial equity depends to a large degree on the extent to which those endeavors operate in this context. /

The Current State of Race Relations

Young Americans give the nation decidedly mixed grades when assessing the current state of race relations in the country. By 50% to 42%, they describe

race relations in the United States as bad rather than good. Black youth, 57% of whom say race relations are bad, take the most negative view, but the results among both whites and Hispanics are no better than evenly divided. Forty-seven percent of young Americans say the country is doing very or fairly well when it comes to encouraging positive relations between people of different races, but 52% say the country is doing just okay or not so well on this score.

While half of young whites say that current race relations are problematic, they see the trend moving in a positive direction: by 60% to 30%, they say race relations are getting better rather than worse. Blacks and Hispanics, however, are divided on this question, with as many expressing pessimistic views as optimistic ones.

The civil rights revolution of the past 30 years clearly has produced much greater social interaction among people of different races and ethnic groups. Eight in ten young Americans say they frequently come into contact with people of other races and ethnic groups, including 56% who do so very often. Sixty-two percent say they have close personal friendships with at least a few people of different races, including 40% who say they have several such friendships.

To some extent, this increased social interaction has produced a generational change in terms of intergroup relations. For example, four in ten young Americans say they feel more comfortable than do their parents in dealing with people of other racial and ethnic groups. The vast majority of young whites,

blacks, and Hispanics say they would feel comfortable rooming with, working for, or visiting the home of someone of a different race. Majorities of blacks and Hispanics also say they would feel comfortable dating someone of a different race, although young whites say, by 61% to 34%, that they would feel uneasy about interracial dating.

Despite a degree of social contact that simply did not exist just a few decades ago, there is still a strong current of tension and division in race relations. There is also a troubling persistence of reliance on invidious stereotypes.

By 55% to 35%, young Americans say white people tend to feel uneasy rather than comfortable dealing with black people; 62% of young blacks feel this way about whites. By a similar margin of 55% to 36%, youths also say blacks feel uneasy rather than comfortable dealing with whites. Among both young blacks and whites, 53% say blacks feel uneasy dealing with whites.

The extent of this uneasiness is suggested by the 56% majority among whites who agree that "white people would not be safe going into *most* black neighborhoods" (36% of young blacks agree with this statement). Note that this statement does not refer at all to the socioeconomic character of the neighborhoods. Four in ten black respondents agree that "black people would not be safe going into *most* white neighborhoods" (23% of whites agree with this statement).

Perceptions of Prejudice and Discrimination

Young Americans do not accept the proposition that the civil rights revolution of the past 30 years has eradicated the problem of discrimination in American society. By 61% to 38%, they reject the contention that "racial and ethnic discrimination was a problem in the past, but it isn't really a serious problem any more." Fifty-eight percent of whites, 62% of Hispanics, and 63% of blacks disagree that discrimination is no longer a serious problem.

Moreover, fully 82% of young Americans, including 81% of young whites, concur with the statement that "racial and ethnic minorities still face a lot of discrimination in our society."

As well, in assessing whether America is meeting the goal of ensuring fair treatment of minorities, 45% say the country is doing very or fairly well, while 53% say it is doing just okay or not so well.

While there is a consensus that discrimination is a persistent problem in contemporary America, there are differences in the way various groups perceive the extent of the problem. Forty-six percent of black youths, for example, say discrimination is the rule, and not just the exception, in terms of the way black people are treated in America. Among young whites, 31% say blacks are mainly discriminated against, while 53% say that blacks mainly receive fair treatment and 13% say they mainly receive special advantages.

Interestingly, Hispanics are more likely to acknowledge discrimination against blacks than they are to acknowledge it against their own ethnic group:

52% of Hispanics say blacks are mainly discriminated against in American society, while 33% say Hispanics are mainly discriminated against. Forty-three percent of blacks say Hispanics are, by and large, victims of discrimination rather than the recipients of fair treatment; 33% of whites say this about Hispanics.

In terms of personal experience, 41% of young blacks and 36% of young Hispanics say they personally have been victims of racial or ethnic discrimination. Blacks who have had the most exposure to the adult world--namely, those who have attended college (53%) and those age 21 to 24 (48%)--are the most likely to report that they have been victims of discrimination.

A smaller but still significant number of whites say they have been victimized by racial or ethnic discrimination (18%).

Indeed, one of the most divisive issues in contemporary race relations is the question of who is most victimized by the status quo. When asked which problem is more likely to happen in our society today, discrimination against minorities because of racial prejudice or discrimination against whites because of special preferences for minorities, white respondents and minority respondents offer very different points of view.

By 49% to 34%, whites indicate the larger problem is discrimination against whites, whereas blacks take the opposite viewpoint and say, by 68% to 19%, that discrimination against minorities is the more serious problem, and Hispanics concur, by 52% to 29%, that discrimination against minorities is more likely to occur than discrimination against whites.

Obviously, it is an unhealthy situation when at least a plurality of people in every group feel that they are victims in America's current approach to race relations. This situation has created an environment of mutual resentment that frequently expresses itself in our conversations with young Americans.

Our youth are forming these views at a time when they as individuals feel pressured and downbeat about their prospects. Fully 77%, for example, think it is harder to be a young person today than when their parents were the same age.

Dealing with the Problems of Race

Young Americans believe that the ultimate goal in dealing with racial problems must be to get Americans to look beyond race. When asked to volunteer the most important ways to reduce racial tensions, young people most frequently talk about the need to judge people by who they are rather than by what they are, and to treat all people equally. They also stress the need to remind ourselves of what we have in common, and to ignore the superficial differences of race. They emphasize the importance of teaching young children that prejudice is wrong and that it is a virtue to be understanding of different people.

As the debate over race relations and civil rights policies becomes more bitterly politicized, shadings of language and emphasis take on special importance. Young Americans are significantly more positive toward the notion of "special consideration" than they are toward "special preference" in terms of efforts to help minorities achieve their fair share of the American

dream. Young Americans also are much more open to these efforts in the field of education than they are in the workplace.

Forty-eight percent of all young Americans, including 40% of whites, 57% of Hispanics, and 74% of blacks, believe that colleges and universities should give special consideration to minority students in order to increase minority enrollment. When this same question is framed in terms of "special preference" rather than "special consideration," just 34% concur, including 26% of whites, 56% of Hispanics, and 52% of blacks.

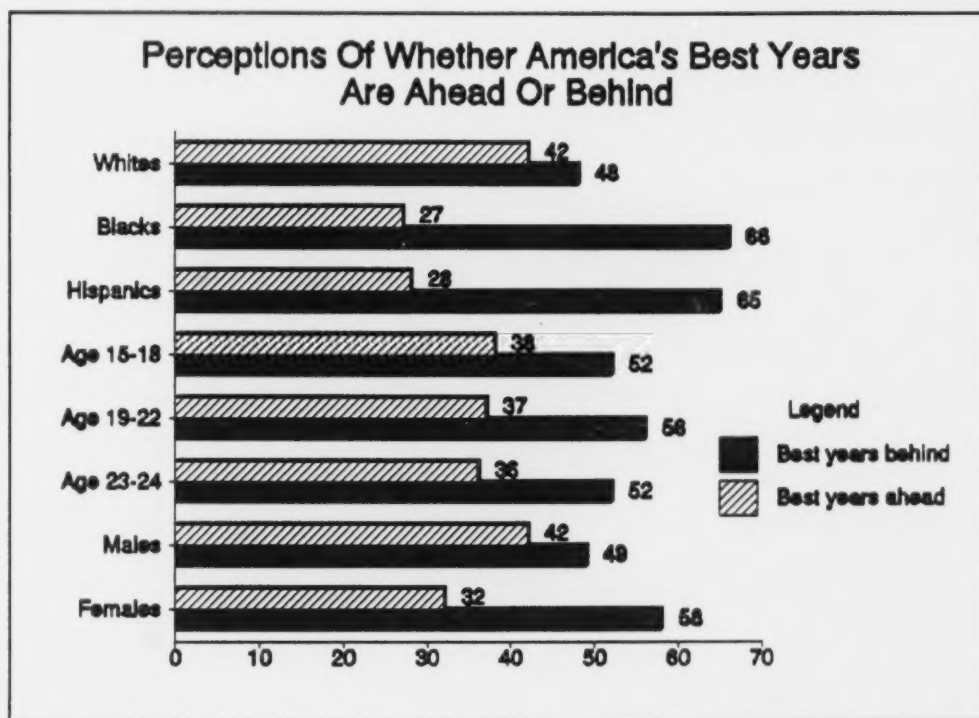
Support for special efforts to help minority students obtain a higher education is substantially greater than for special efforts in the job market. Thirty-five percent overall say employers should give special consideration to minority job applicants in order to increase the number of minority employees: 27% of whites, 43% of Hispanics, and 60% of blacks support special consideration for minorities in hiring. Just 23% overall support "special preference" for minorities in hiring, including 15% among whites, 40% among blacks, and 41% among Hispanics.

The issue of special treatment is a divisive one that cuts both ways. Forty-eight percent of young blacks believe that whites receive special advantages not available to minorities in our society.

SECTION I
SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES

A Climate of Pessimism

Young Americans are formulating and acting on their attitudes regarding race relations and other social issues in a context of substantial pessimism and concern about the future of the country. Just one in three youth age 15 to 24 (33%) say the nation is headed in the right direction, while a 51% majority feel things have gotten off on the wrong track. Participants in the focus groups among whites use words such as "disgusted," "disturbed," "sick," "worried," and "sorry" to describe how they feel about the way things are going in America today.



Moreover, young people do not view the nation's off-course bearing as a short-term problem. Instead, a 54% majority are worried that America's best years

might already be behind us, and only 37% think the country's best years still lie ahead.

As the preceding graphic demonstrates, whites are less pessimistic about the future of the country than are blacks or Hispanics, younger respondents are not as pessimistic as older ones, and males are not as downbeat as females. There is, however, no demographic subgroup in which more youth reveal an optimistic outlook for the nation than display concern and worry about the country's future.

Respondents in the one-on-one interviews were also asked about the nation's direction, and their reactions provide a sense of why young people are so disapproving:

We're off on the wrong track, [because] those guys in the suits and ties downtown and down in Congress have control over what goes on--the budget, our economy. If they did their jobs better, things wouldn't be so bad. I think to me that they're always focusing on overseas or foreign matters because they always think they know someone else's business.

Male, Black, 21, Bronx, NY, Completed 12th grade

Is that a trick question? Please--everything's going down the drain. There's a recession, unemployment's incredible, and schools are getting their money cut out.

Male, Hispanic, 18, Miami, FL, Currently in 12th grade

We're off on the wrong track because, like gangs and everything. People don't have as much respect for other people; they don't have as much respect for themselves. They don't have a lot of respect for property, and they don't have a lot of respect for things that people worked hard for. A lot of people are scared to walk down the street.

Female, Black, 15, Miami, FL, Currently in 10th grade

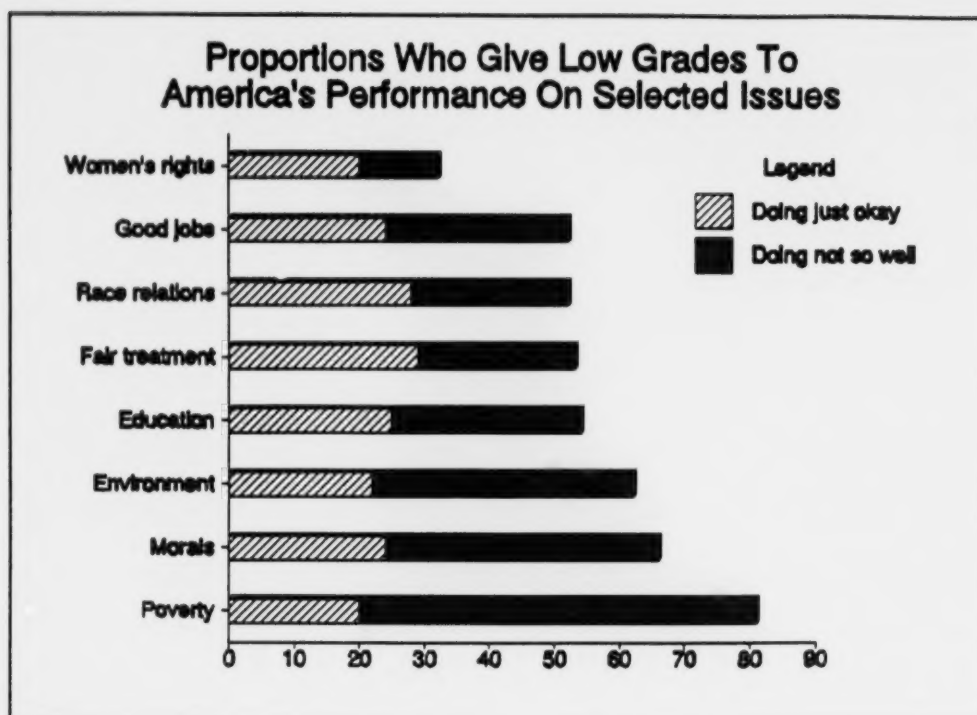
We're supposed to be a really great nation. We have people who are failing English, and these other countries are requiring English and their own language, and they seem so much better off than we do.

Female, White, 18, Fairfax, VA, Currently in 1st or 2nd year of college

The focus groups conducted among young whites in Raleigh, North Carolina, indicate this current state of pessimism has much to do with young people's economic outlook. AIDS, drugs, crime, health care, and the environment contribute to their cynicism, but the bottom line is that many participants do not expect to be able to find the kind of jobs they hope for when they get out of school.

A Nation Falling Short

When asked to describe how well the country is doing on several basic measures of societal well-being, the young people surveyed give very mixed assessments on most issues and pass clearly negative judgments on several others. Only when it comes to promoting equal rights for women do the youth of America rate the nation's performance in clearly positive terms. The following graphic shows the proportion of young people who think America is doing "just okay" or "not so well" on each of eight goals.



These young Americans are especially disappointed in the nation's performance on dealing with poverty and homelessness (81% say America is doing just okay or is falling short), having high standards of honesty and morals (66%), and protecting the environment (62%). Their review of the nation's effectiveness on two other measures shows that more than half think we are doing just okay or not so well in providing either a quality education (54%) or good job opportunities (52%). Majorities also give the country low ratings for encouraging positive relations between people of different races (52%) and ensuring fair treatment of minorities (53%).

Blacks are more critical than are whites of the nation's accomplishments on the latter two measures, and Hispanics are also more negative than are whites when it comes to ensuring fair treatment of minorities. Even among young whites, however, less than a majority think the nation is doing very or fairly well on race relations and the treatment of minorities.

Personal Outlook

In terms of their personal world view, American youth are also downbeat. More than three in four young Americans (77%) think it is harder to be a young person today than it was when their parents were growing up. This figure is up nine percentage points, from 68%, compared to what we measured among a similar sample of young people in 1989.¹ Whites (80%) seem to feel the difficulties of emerging into adulthood somewhat more acutely than do black (73%) or Hispanic (68%) youth, but all three groups are significantly more downbeat than in the 1989 study.

A 21-year-old from Houston says things are harder because "young people today, especially teenagers, are growing up faster; they're experiencing things my mother's generation didn't experience until their mid-20s: drugs, violence, teenage pregnancies. Many innocent children have been killed in drive-by shootings that have been drug-related, teen violence is on the [rise], and teenagers are afraid to be anywhere; there's always the chance that they're going to die for no reason."

¹See *Democracy's Next Generation*, another study of attitudes among Americans age 15 to 24, commissioned by People For the American Way.

A 20-year-old father in Albuquerque echoes this somber outlook: "These days, if you're a youth, you're a heck of a lot more likely to die or get in some type of violent situation. . . . If you're not very intelligent, or you don't choose to be very intelligent, your chances for death are quite high."

Interpretation

The degree of pessimism displayed by young Americans is itself reason for concern; it is even more important as a clue to understanding young people's social attitudes in general and their attitudes toward racial issues in particular. Discouragement about the nation's direction, about what lies ahead, and about their personal circumstances pervades young people's world view and influences the way they interpret their relationship to others in our society.

These survey results clearly demonstrate that youth feel race relations in America fall short of what they should be. Though blacks in general are more critical of the nation's efforts on ensuring fair treatment for minorities and encouraging positive race relations than are whites or Hispanics, we find that upscale, college-educated blacks are especially condemnatory of America's treatment of minorities. Indeed, this profound cynicism among the most outwardly successful or "upwardly mobile" young blacks--that is, those who are currently attending college or have a college degree, those whose parents attended college, or those who are categorized at the upper end of the socioeconomic scale--is demonstrated throughout the study and is one of the greatest causes for alarm to emerge from this project. It may surprise many in white America that blacks who seemingly have defied the odds are the most downbeat about the situation for minorities.

As well, we will see later that white youths' negative outlook--especially when it comes to job opportunities and the quality of education--both discourages empathy for groups that, historically, have been disadvantaged and undercuts support for policies intended to increase educational and employment opportunities for minorities. When, as in the Raleigh focus groups, young whites feel that "things are tough all over," and that all Americans, including

themselves, are facing an uphill battle in the present economy, they are less inclined to acknowledge the difficulties faced by those who may start off at a disadvantage in American society. As one participant puts it, "I think it's not that [blacks] don't get a fair shake. I think white people don't get a fair shake, too."

SECTION II
SOCIAL VALUES

Shared Values

One of the most striking and encouraging results from this study is the consensus on values among whites, blacks, and Hispanics. Indeed, the findings reveal more that unites than divides the youth of America in their basic orientations toward life and society.

When it comes to the social values that count the most, young people of all ethnic backgrounds place the greatest emphasis on family, fair treatment, self-reliance and, to a lesser extent, belief in God and personal liberty: substantial majorities give each of these values the highest ratings ("9" or "10") on a ten-point scale, as the following table indicates.

	— "9" Or "10" On 10-point Scale —			
	Whites %	Blacks %	Hispanics %	All Youth %
The importance of family	80	87	87	81
Fair treatment for all, without prejudice or discrimination	77	86	85	79
Emphasis on self-reliance and taking responsibility for yourself	73	84	77	75
Belief in God	65	85	74	68
Respect for the rights of minorities	54	71	70	58
Personal liberty and freedom to do as you please	55	54	51	55
Helping those who are less fortunate	49	65	64	53
Patriotism and pride in our country	51	32	46	47
Economic success and being well-off financially	29	52	47	35

Across the board, in every demographic subgroup, at least seven in ten young Americans say that fair treatment for all, without prejudice or discrimination, is an extremely important principle to them personally.

On other American values, whites place somewhat more value than do minorities on patriotism, while blacks and Hispanics attach more importance than do whites to religion and economic success. Blacks and Hispanics also assign more importance to respect for minorities and helping those who are less fortunate, though half of whites give each of these the highest ratings.

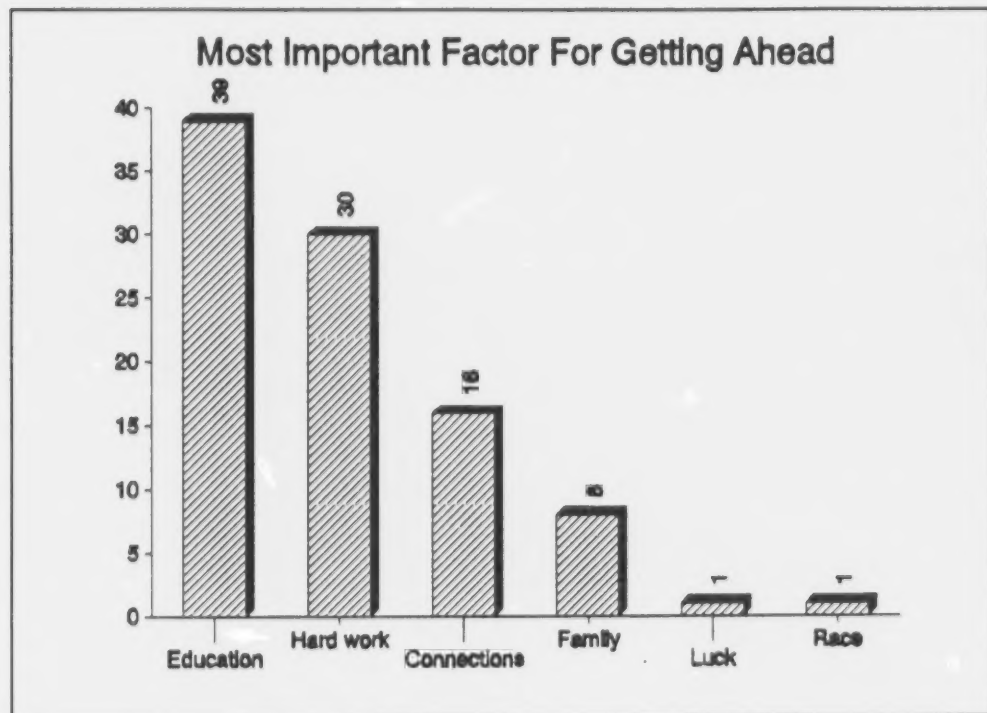
While differences in degree among racial and ethnic subgroups may be seen when it comes to altruism, patriotism, religion, financial success, and respect for the rights of minorities, **the overriding emphasis on family, fairness, and self-reliance provides an important link between all young people.**

Interpretation

From these findings, we should also recognize the important function language plays in any discussion of race relations. Even subtly different formulations of very similar ideas can elicit diverse reactions. For example, more than three-fourths of whites attach great importance to the concept of fair treatment for all, without prejudice or discrimination, but only a simple majority are as supportive of the notion of respect for the rights of minorities. Given that most young Americans currently feel they and the nation as a whole are up against the wall, it is not surprising that values painted in broad, *inclusive* strokes--such as "fair treatment for all"--are better received than those delineated or targeted more narrowly--such as "respect for the rights of minorities."

Education Plus Hard Work Equals Success

In addition to the importance of family, fairness, and self-reliance, another point of linkage between young Americans of different racial and ethnic groups is their common belief that the engines of success are education and hard work. As the following graphic shows, all youth assign more importance to education and individual effort in getting ahead than to having connections and knowing the right people, family background, luck, or race.



Among Hispanic youth, education reigns significantly above all other factors: 50% say schooling is the single most important key to success. The story

changes somewhat among respondents in the oldest age groups, who are more likely than the youngest respondents to see having connections as the ticket to getting ahead. College-educated and upscale blacks are the most likely to believe that knowing the right people is also necessary for getting ahead in America.

Respondents in the one-on-one interviews largely tend to agree that working hard and doing one's best will lead to success. A 24-year-old Hispanic youth who has only a high school education says, "It's out there as long as you go out and look for it, and you're a hard worker and a hard looker." "If you put your mind to it, with the help of the Lord," affirms a black college freshman, "I think you can accomplish anything you set out for." According to an Hispanic high school junior, the answer is simple: "The harder you work, the more you advance."

Some youth feel, however, that success demands additional components: "I think that you have to have a little bit of luck to get ahead: knowing the right people or having contacts, being in the right place at the right time," declares a white 20-year-old technical school student. One young white woman who attends college in Fairfax, Virginia, notes that "there are still some prejudices against women and minorities," and believes "the white male will still usually get ahead faster than the others." For a few respondents, such as this black high school senior in Los Angeles, the odds against succeeding in our country seem almost insurmountable:

You can work hard, have a good education, but there's always going to be someone better than you. No matter how hard you work, there is always someone they'll pick over you--maybe because of your race, maybe because of your background. . . . You could get as high as you can go by yourself, but you need a little help, a little push, to get up there.

Personal Responsibility and the Question of Poverty

Views on personal responsibility take a different turn--both between and within racial groups--in young people's perceptions of the main cause of poverty in America. Whites are evenly divided between the belief that "most people who suffer from poverty are victims of society's unfair treatment of disadvantaged individuals" (44%) and the notion that poor people "haven't really tried hard enough to improve their own situation" (46%). Blacks, however, are more likely to attribute poverty to society's unfair treatment of disadvantaged individuals (55%) than to a lack of trying hard enough (36%), while Hispanics take the opposite viewpoint, attributing poverty to a lack of effort (55%) rather than to unjust treatment (39%).

Interesting differences appear by gender, with white males being more likely to blame the individual and white females being more inclined to blame society for poverty. Similarly, while only a bare plurality of black males place the onus on society's unfairness, a strong majority of black females say social inequities are at the root of poverty.

Interpretation

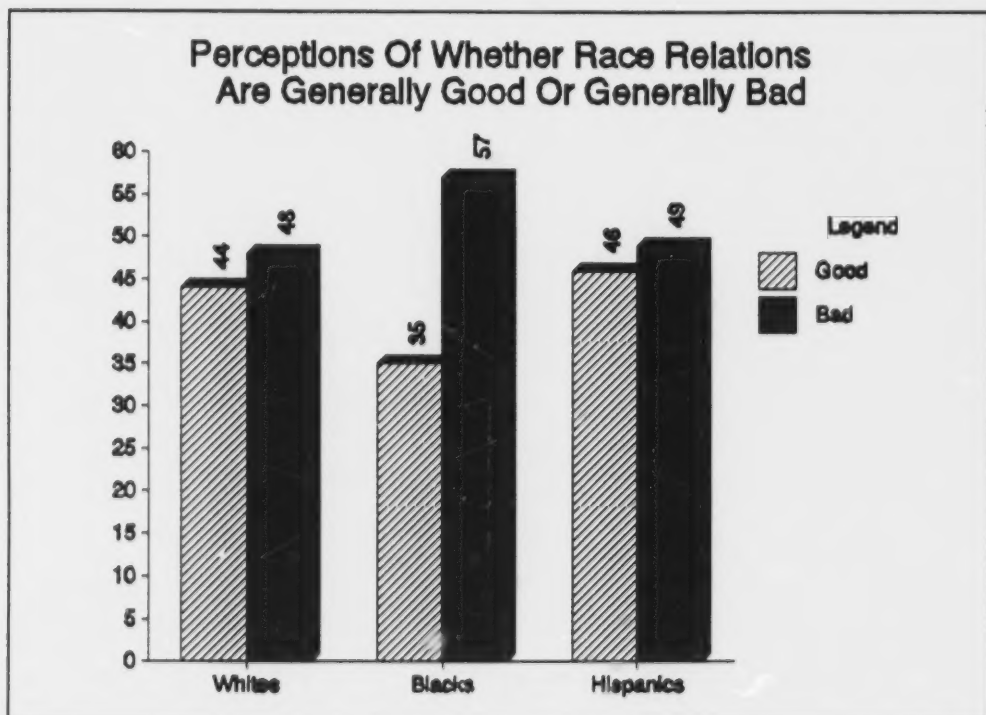
The common ground of values that connects young Americans of all racial and ethnic backgrounds is one of this project's most significant and promising findings. Even in a context of difficult economic times and tight job markets, fairness far outstrips personal economic success when it comes to the values system by which the nation's young people are charting their course into adult society. And even in a climate of mixed feelings about the status of race relations in America, young people's clear affirmation of fair treatment as an important principle offers a crucial and unifying starting point for efforts to improve race relations.

Any formula for dealing with racial issues in America, therefore, should have as its central premise the idea that all people in our society must be guaranteed a fair chance. It also must include an emphasis on education, hard work, and personal responsibility. Young Americans believe that individual success is bred from the mix of these elements, and that the absence of any one of them greatly diminishes the likelihood that someone growing up in American society will be able to get ahead.

SECTION III
VIEWS OF RACE RELATIONS IN AMERICA

A Downbeat View of Race Relations

Young people see race relations in America generally as more bad than good: overall, 42% say race relations are good and 50% characterize them as bad. Whites (44% good, 48% bad) and Hispanics (46% good, 49% bad) are most in accord, while blacks are significantly more negative (35% good, 57% bad) on this question.



A comment from a white Midwesterner represents the sentiments most frequently volunteered when youth were asked to describe relations between people of different races in this country: "I think a lot of groups are discriminated

against and most people just look the other way and do nothing about it." In explaining his point of view, a white 15-year-old New England resident says simply, "All races think they are better than the other races." In the eyes of a black girl who is also 15, "There is extra emphasis on what color a person is. We don't need that."

We also find a disturbing perception among some youth that racism and prejudice are inherent in human nature and can never be eradicated. "I do not think you can ever stop racism," says a 17-year-old white Southerner, and a focus group participant in Raleigh echoes this resignation: "Well, I think there's a lot of prejudice out there, and I think a lot of prejudice is brought on by what people do. I mean, you categorize this group this way, and you run around and become prejudiced [toward] them because of that. I think a lot of it is totally ridiculous; I don't think any of it should be there, but it's there. I don't know what we can do about it."

Interviewed face-to-face in Los Angeles, an 18-year-old black woman says race relations are "kind of bad," elaborating that "there seems to be tension between white people and black people":

When I get around a white person, I don't feel as comfortable as I do with a black person; some kind of a friction is in the middle that doesn't keep me at ease. . . . [Whether] white or Hispanic or Korean, or whatever, there's tension. I see that the blacks stay with the blacks, the whites stay with the whites, the Koreans stay with the Koreans; they don't interact. I think they're kind of afraid to interact.

One of the participants in the focus groups among whites reflects some of her peers' views when she notes that the social progress gained by the civil rights movement is being undercut by a crosscurrent of hostility or resentment among blacks toward whites: "I feel in a way they're trying to separate themselves. They worked so hard in 11 years to be able to ride a bus like everybody else, and it's turned around. Now they're wanting to separate themselves."

Though unfavorable opinions edge out favorable ones, a substantial proportion of young people share a conviction that there is a positive side to race relations these days. Their reasons for believing that relations between races are generally good tend to reflect two main themes: that conditions are much improved over those known by earlier generations--"seems like we have made a lot of changes since 1960," says a youngster from the Midwest--and that, from a personal standpoint, people now are better able to look beyond race or ethnicity and relate to one another simply as human beings:

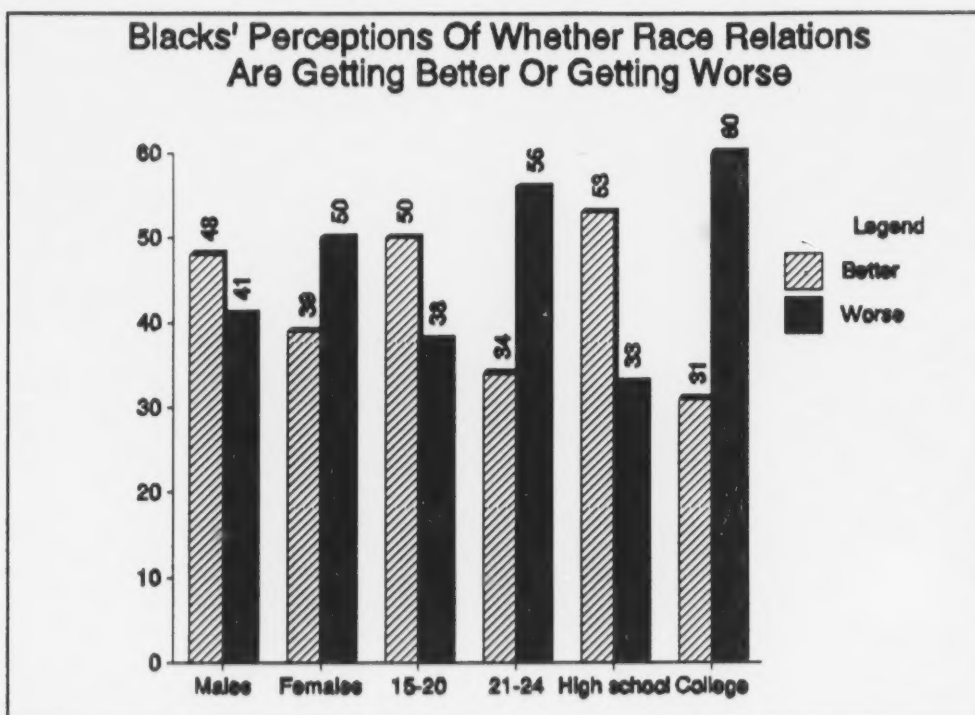
One reason I think it's good--or better than it used to be--is that in school now a lot of whites and blacks are playing together and going to school together, whereas that used to be discouraged in the past. That's one sign to me that makes me think it's better.

The Trend In Race Relations

The survey also asked youth whether race relations in America are getting better or worse. **In this case, young people tend to take a more favorable view, although in many cases, they say improvements are coming slowly.** Fifty-five

percent of all 15- to 24-year-olds say race relations are improving, and just one-third (34%) feel relations are declining. Black and Hispanic youth, however, are considerably less upbeat than are whites, with the former two groups being roughly evenly split and a three-fifths majority of the white group clearly believing race relations are getting better.

Among every white demographic subgroup, in fact, a clear majority see relations between people of different races as on the mend. In contrast, we find a divergence of opinion among black youth by gender, age, and education, with females, older blacks, and those who currently attend or previously attended college being notably more negative than are their counterparts.



A young black woman interviewed in Houston says she thinks things are getting better because she has seen "more interaction, more acceptance of interracial couples, more instances where race is not an issue in deciding something, and more instances of minorities advancing." **Personal interactions among members of different racial groups, in fact, are often cited by the young people who contend that race relations are improving.** An eleventh-grade Hispanic youth who lives in San Jose believes that "a lot of people are starting to understand each other," and that "people get married from different races, and they do a lot of things together."

Representing the opposite point of view is a white high school senior from Rhode Island, who feels race relations are getting worse, and that disharmonies are exacerbated by polarizations caused by current economic conditions: "They search out amongst themselves and try to find a scapegoat; usually in this country it's almost always been immigrant groups that are of a different ethnicity or a different race. In these days, especially since the Republican president is considered to be elite and privileged, [this] causes a great deal of stress." Another youngster speaks of the insidious nature of what she sees as negative trend in race relations:

There are still racial problems that people are trying to deny, but [that] exist. You have black and white students who conflict, you have one color teacher who doesn't like another color student. . . . It's not as much in the stores and restaurants as it used to be, because if you pay your money, they have to serve you, they have to do their job. In the enclosed areas, where people don't look to find [racism], that's where it is.

Perhaps the best summation of young Americans' assessment of the trend in race relations comes from an Asian woman who attends Stanford University: "I think they are getting better, *but really slowly.*"

Interpretation

Even the broadest and most basic questions about the state of race relations in America today elicit very complex and conflicting responses among young people. While, on the one hand, youth point to the positive changes wrought by the civil rights movement during the 1960s and 1970s, this generation has no personal experience of the era that preceded the enactment of laws guaranteeing equality for minorities; thus their citations of social progress often permit a detached, *intellectually* upbeat attitude at the same time that their perceptions of current "tension" or "friction" between races can lead to an emotionally charged pessimism.

The main message we interpret from these findings is that young people's perspective on race relations, in a slightly downcast balance at present, could easily be tipped into full-scale negativism if society does not find ways of appealing to the day-to-day experiences and personal values that evoke in young people a greater conviction and hope that all Americans can live together amiably, harmoniously, and peaceably. As one young man laments, "Too many people discriminate and not as many people stand out against it. There is not enough peer pressure on young people for them to support equality."

Discrimination Is a Persistent Problem

Although a slight majority of youth say race relations are generally on the upswing, this perception is undercut by our finding that young Americans clearly recognize racial and ethnic discrimination as a persistent national problem. Indeed, four in five whites, blacks, and Hispanics concur that racial and

ethnic minorities still face a lot of discrimination in our society, and three in five youth in each of these groups reject the notion that discrimination was a problem in the past but poses no serious threat today.

While there is broad consensus that discrimination continues to blight America's social landscape, young people are less in accord about whether it is the exception or the rule. Below the surface, in fact, views on discrimination are very complex. Despite their acknowledgement that, in principle, members of minority groups still encounter discriminatory practices and attitudes, a majority of white youth say that, in practice, blacks (53%) and Hispanics (52%) receive fair treatment by society. Only about one in three whites feel blacks and Hispanics are being discriminated against.

Hispanic youths' attitudes match those of whites when it comes to how society treats their own ethnic group, but they diverge sharply from both whites' and blacks' reactions on the question of how society treats black people. Only two-fifths of Hispanic respondents (39%) think blacks get fair treatment, and a majority (52%) say blacks are discriminated against.

While black youth are evenly divided on whether their own group gets a fair shake (50%) or faces discriminatory treatment (46%), and on whether the situation for Hispanics is equitable (41% fair treatment, 43% discriminated against), they deliver a much harsher verdict on how America deals with the white majority. Half of all black youth (47%) believe whites are treated equitably, while half (48%) feel whites are given too many special advantages. College-educated and upscale

blacks are more likely than are blacks overall to say whites receive special advantages.

When the question of discrimination is brought to the personal level, substantial proportions of minority youth say they have been a victim of discrimination, including two-fifths of young blacks (41%) and more than one-third of young Hispanics (36%). As well, one in five white youths (18%) consider themselves to have been the target of racial or ethnic discrimination. Older, college-educated, upscale, and urban blacks are more likely than average to report having experienced racial bigotry firsthand--perhaps, we surmise, because much of their day-to-day experience takes place in a white-dominated world.

Who's the Victim? The Racial Perception Gap

Perceptions of who is currently getting the short end of the stick in our society are a crucial factor influencing young people's attitudes toward many race-related issues. Across racial lines, many young Americans see themselves as victims.

In another test of how youth comprehend the practice of discrimination, we read respondents two statements and asked which is more likely to occur today:

Qualified minorities are denied scholarships, jobs, and promotions because of racial prejudice; or

Qualified whites lose out on scholarships, jobs, and promotions because minorities get special preference.

The differences of opinion between whites and minorities on this fundamental issue provide an important indication of one of the most profound divisions contributing to racial and ethnic discord among young Americans today.

Overall, young people are split 42% to 42% on this question, but about half of white youth (49%) are inclined to think it is whites who lose out, whereas majorities of Hispanics (52%) and especially blacks (68%) believe it is minorities who are not treated fairly.

The differences in perspective among whites and minorities on who holds the greatest advantage and who faces the most discrimination in America pervade young people's thinking about how things work in American society in general, and in today's job market in particular.

Respondents in the one-on-one interviews were asked which candidate for a job they think is most likely to be hired among a white, a black, and an Hispanic applicant for the same position. Although many demur that it would depend on who is making the hiring decision, a number of them--especially blacks and Hispanics, but many whites as well--agree that the white person stands the best chance in this situation.

"I would hope that they all have an equal shot at it, but I would think the white person," says an Hispanic college student. He explains that white job applicants win out "because [white employers] are still prejudiced," and continues: "People think that just because you are a different race, you are inferior to them. Because generally the person that's doing the hiring is going to be a white person;

even though he is not supposed to show favoritism, I think it does tend to happen in our society still today." A white eleventh-grader from Albuquerque believes the white person would be hired, since "even though things are getting better, it's still a white man's world." Concurring with her is this black high school senior, who asserts, "Unfortunately, that's how it is in this society. Being white is like an extra plus on your side. It happens a lot. Just because you've got a degree doesn't mean you're going to get the job. Skin color still matters."

One of the most telling responses comes from a black college student in Austin, Texas. "When you go to apply for a job, the person sitting behind the desk is white. If you go to a black college, they teach you that the whole world is out there and you have a chance to go and grab it. They don't teach you that not everyone in the whole world is black; they don't teach you how to assimilate with other races. If someone sitting behind the desk is white, they'll probably want to hire someone else who is white--not because of his qualifications, [but] because of his race."

Some young whites feel, however, that they are the ones who would suffer the consequences of race-conscious hiring. One youth from the Southwest claims that "with the racial quotas, it can be anything," and insists that the Hispanic employers with whom he has sought work "wouldn't hire me because I was white." Similarly, an 18-year-old white college student feels "some companies would pick the black person first, just because they have their quotas of the different races."

Exploring Young People's Views on Poverty and Discrimination

The complexities surrounding the issue of discrimination come to light in an open-ended question that asks young people to explain why blacks in our society tend to be worse off statistically in terms of jobs, income, and housing. Here, though the main reasons given may not be surprising, the differences in the proportions of whites, blacks, and Hispanics who volunteer them are not what one might expect.

Although young whites focus on racial prejudice as the answer to the lower socioeconomic status of blacks, young blacks tend to concentrate on education and motivation--in other words, on access to the tools of success--in explaining why people of their race tend to be worse off than whites.

The single most frequently given answer, volunteered by 29% of all youth, is that black people continue to experience racism, discrimination, and prejudice. While 32% of whites offer this explanation, however, *only half as many blacks (16%) and Hispanics (17%) do so*. "I think that blacks have no opportunity to get ahead," says a 20-year-old white woman, and this white 19-year-old asserts: "Our standards are very old-fashioned. We tend to think that blacks are 'less' than whites." A teenager from New England observes that "whites do not give blacks enough job opportunities."

Volunteered second most often is the notion that blacks tend to be less educated or to drop out of school: overall, 19% of young people suggest this as a reason for blacks' being worse off in American society. Among racial and ethnic

subgroups, 17% each of young whites and Hispanics--compared to 29% of young blacks--feel educational difficulties are at the root of the problem. According to this 15-year-old Southern black, "Education is lacking. Parental support for education is not what it should be." Another black youth explains, "Many blacks don't have the proper education to get a job." A 17-year-old black conveys another side of the education equation, asserting that "more money should be spent on education and inner-city programs."

The third most frequently tendered reason for blacks' disadvantaged socioeconomic status, mentioned by 10% of all youth, is the old saw that blacks are "lazy" or lack the motivation to look for employment. Ten percent of white youth and just 7% of young Hispanics volunteer this, compared to 19% of blacks. "In some ways they are not trying hard enough, and in some ways there is nothing out there," says a 19-year-old black woman. Another black youth feels that some blacks "are afraid to try anything."

Other divergences of opinion on these three leading themes occur among black demographic subgroups. For example, while three in ten black youth volunteer educational difficulties or the drop-out rate in explaining the higher incidence of poverty among blacks, nearly half (46%) of blacks whose parents went to college offer this line of reasoning. Young college-educated blacks, elsewhere in the survey so cynical about the treatment of minorities in America, are no more likely than are blacks overall to say racism and discriminatory practices keep blacks at a disadvantage. Urban blacks are not inclined to offer prejudice

as a reason for blacks' status, whereas the proportion of non-urban blacks who feel this is the case nearly matches the proportion of whites who do. And blacks who currently are in high school are much more likely than their college-educated or non-student counterparts to say that blacks experience motivational problems.

The foregoing discussion may help explain young people's response when they are asked for their reaction to the statement, "Blacks have caused many of their own problems, but make excuses by blaming them on discrimination instead." Roughly half of whites (55%), Hispanics (50%), and blacks themselves (45%) agree with this statement. Most likely to *disagree* with this idea are college-educated blacks (71%).

The survey also asked respondents to explain why Hispanic people tend to be worse off in terms of jobs, income, and housing. Once again, though there are both substantive and proportional differences in young people's answers to the question about blacks and their answers to this one, there is one striking similarity: as was the case with blacks' responses to the previous question, Hispanics tend to concentrate on the mechanisms of success--education and the ability to communicate--while whites and blacks are more likely to cite discrimination as the cause of Hispanics' socioeconomic disadvantages.

The explanation most frequently volunteered overall is that Hispanics lack education. Nineteen percent of young people say this is why Hispanics lag behind in socioeconomic terms. Though only 18% of white youth and just 7% of blacks offer this argument, 37% of Hispanic youth say this is so. As a 23-year-old

Hispanic man explains, "Many are new to the country and have a low education level." Similarly, this 18-year-old Hispanic elaborates, "We don't come from the right education. We don't get the good jobs. We have no knowledge of other languages."

Related to the comments about education are those that refer to the language barrier many Hispanics confront (volunteered by 14% of all youth). Again, Hispanics are more likely to identify this difficulty (20%) than are whites (14%) or blacks (15%). A 24-year-old Hispanic woman describes how it feels to be Spanish-speaking in predominantly English-speaking America: "We have a definite language barrier. People seem to be impatient with someone who does not speak English."

Though young people see discrimination as the biggest factor contributing to blacks' depressed socioeconomic circumstances, this does not hold true in their views of Hispanics. Thirteen percent of whites, 11% of blacks, and only 9% of Hispanics say prejudice is a reason for Hispanics' being disadvantaged.

Finally, while just 10% and 4% of whites and blacks, respectively, say Hispanic people's problems stem from lack of motivation, nearly one-fifth (17%) of Hispanic youth volunteer this explication. On this line of reasoning, one young Hispanic claims, "I think Hispanics do not try enough," but another counters: "People do not expect Hispanics to do a good job."

Interpretation

Young Americans display broad consensus that discrimination is still a significant social problem in our nation. They view race relations today as more bad than good, but tend to see a trend toward improvement; for a number of youth, however, this perspective is based on the historical context of progress in civil rights, rather than on a sense that contemporary racial problems are being ameliorated.

Beyond the general agreement that minorities continue to face prejudice in today's society, in fact, young people's views of racial and ethnic discrimination become highly fragmented. While many blacks and Hispanics tend to see themselves as bearing the brunt of discriminatory attitudes and practices by whites, many young whites tend to downplay the degree to which prejudice impacts minorities and to accentuate the extent to which whites are hampered by "reverse discrimination." Though perceptions within each racial or ethnic group are far from monolithic, the divergences of opinion currently devolve into a kind of mutual blame syndrome in which each group points a finger at another for the challenges they face.

For those who would lead the younger generation toward a new and more harmonious era of race relations, it will be unproductive to perpetuate this cycle of blame by continuing to deliver the kind of messages that set up an "either/or" explanation for America's racial problems. Instead, the nation's leaders must communicate a formula for success that focuses less on victimization and more on solutions, that unites rather than divides, and that balances the virtues of hard work and self-reliance with a social framework that gives these ideals meaning: a truly level playing field.

SECTION IV
RACE RELATIONS AND PERSONAL INTERACTION

A New Generation of Interracial Relations

Young Americans' unresolved attitudes about the existence and effects of racism contrast sharply with their strongly positive feelings about interpersonal relationships among people of different races and ethnic backgrounds. Indeed, some of the most heartening signs regarding young people's views on issues of race appear in the framework of personal interaction.

An underlying basis for the slight majority of young people's conclusion that race relations are improving may be that significant proportions affirm either that they are more comfortable dealing with people of other racial and ethnic groups than are their parents, or that the two generations are equally comfortable these days. Forty-three percent of all young Americans say they are more at ease, and 47% feel they and their parents are about the same in this regard; just 9% say it is their parents who feel more comfortable with interracial interactions. White youth and Hispanic youth do not deviate much from the opinions of young people overall, but a majority of black youth indicate they and their parents are about the same in terms of comfort level, whereas just 30% say they personally are more relaxed among people of other races.

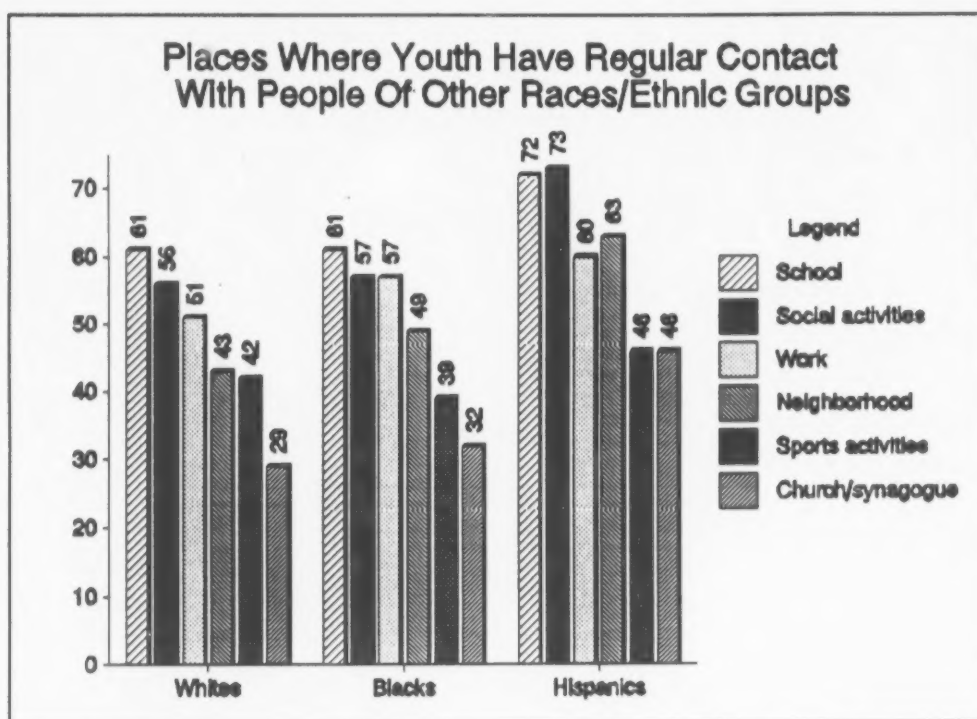
A 17-year-old Bronx resident speaks for many blacks when she claims that she and her parents "both feel that we respect those who respect us, regardless of race, color, whatever. We both feel that the color of your skin isn't as important as the character of the person."

Others who participated in the in-person interviews describe why their attitude of racial tolerance may be different from their parents' point of view. A black youth, age 19, characterizes himself as "a whole lot different" from the older generations in his family, who "feel like they should hate a white person. But I don't feel that way. I think you should love a white person. They feel like it's the white person that put them in the shape they're in now. They don't see it as themselves who put them in the shape they are in now." Similarly, an eleventh-grade Hispanic youth notes, "I am different from my family. I don't believe any other race is better than me. . . . My parents are Christian, [and although] they pretty much believe everyone is the same, I've seen they are a little racist toward blacks. The way they were raised, they weren't around blacks."

Some of the starkest contrasts between younger and older generations are offered by a few of the participants in the focus groups among Southern whites. A young woman says she believes discrimination is still a problem because she personally knows people who are blatantly racist; she claims, for example, that her boyfriend's grandfather "has hung [*sic*] black people. . . . He still calls them 'niggers,' and I don't." A young man says his father considers black people "good for nothing," and yet another participant confirms that, unlike himself, his parents and grandparents "automatically see the worst against black people."

Contact and Friendship among Races and Ethnic Groups

To get a measure of the extent and nature of young Americans' daily contact and interaction with people of other races and ethnic groups, we asked them first to categorize the frequency of their interracial contact and identify the situations in which it occurs. **An overwhelming majority of all 15- to 24-year-olds (four in five or more whites, blacks, and Hispanics) say they have such day-to-day contacts very or fairly often.**



As the preceding graphic shows, although much of this interaction takes place under "captive audience" circumstances--at school, at work, or in the

neighborhood--it also occurs by choice, in sports activities and social get-togethers.

Only one-quarter each of whites and blacks say they have no "close personal friendships" with people of a different race, whereas three-fifths of youth in these two subgroups (and three-quarters of Hispanic youth) indicate they have at least a few or even several close friends of a racial background other than their own.

The Raleigh focus group participants and the one-on-one respondents all across the country offer testimony that bears out these findings. A 16-year-old Native American from Portland, Oregon, says enthusiastically, "In my classes, there are all races. I have real close friends of all races. I like it a lot; you feel like you can get along with everybody and you can learn a lot from them about customs." In Pinellas Park, Florida, an Hispanic youth says he and the people of other races with whom he works "fool around and there's no problem. I got a friend and we are real close and he's a black person. We jog [and] exercise together." A white Southerner claims, "I have some real good friends who are black," and a 23-year-old black youth who works "with different races every day" says that not only do he and his coworkers "really get along great," but that "off work, [we're] friends," too.

Another test of how young people relate to one another on a personal level was posed by asking survey respondents whether they would feel "pretty comfortable" or would feel "uneasy" being with a person of a different race in four

specific situations. **Overwhelming majorities of whites, blacks, and Hispanics say they would be comfortable working for (93% overall), visiting the home of (85%), and being roommates with (81%) someone of a race other than their own.** While a three-fifths majority of whites say they would feel uneasy about dating someone of a different race, substantial majorities of blacks and Hispanics continue to say they would be comfortable with someone of a different race, even in a romantic relationship.

The Perception Gap Revisited: Personal Experience versus Stereotyping

Though these quantitative findings about the extent and positive nature of young people's interracial experiences are chief among the pieces of good news offered by the study, further probing suggests a more complicated picture exists beneath the surface. **Despite their largely positive contact and friendship with members of other racial and ethnic groups, many young people seem unable to connect their own daily experiences with *individuals* and the larger racial group to which those individuals belong.**

Whites, particularly, may tend to think of the blacks with whom they socialize as exceptional, rather than representative, and often cannot seem to extend the favorable image they have based on their personal interaction to their collective image of blacks. This "short-circuit" in the development of youths' social attitudes on race is dramatically evidenced in the Raleigh focus group discussions.

Almost all the participants in the session among college-educated whites say they have a close friend who is black, and most of the participants in the other session among non-college-educated, non-students generally characterize their personal experiences with blacks as more positive than negative. Despite their rewarding personal experiences, however, these young people spend much of each two-hour exchange candidly revealing opinions about blacks that reflect racial stereotyping and bigotry.

One Raleigh youth describes how a black friend--with whom he does "the same thing" he would do "with anybody that's white"--saved his life after an automobile accident, and another talks about a black pre-med major who is "the smartest guy I think I've ever met. I guess he's my best friend, really, because I talk to him all the time. He's the one I talk to when we go out." Yet another person recounts his friendship with a black youth who runs a family business that "they pretty much built . . . from the ground up. He basically started cutting grass when he was little, and right now he's making a business out of it." A young woman says, "My best friend is black. I don't know--I don't even look at the color of her skin; that doesn't matter to me. Actually, it's kind of strange, because in high school I graduated with 520 people and only 10 of them were black, and I never looked at her as being just a black person. She's a great person inside and we have good fun together."

The stories of close friendship and camaraderie among these young whites and their black associates, however, do not appear to play much of a

role in counteracting disapproving views of blacks as a whole. Instead, participants express attitudes that essentially encompass the most negative black stereotypes: blacks are loud or obnoxious; blacks are criminals; blacks are lazy or unwilling to work hard; blacks are full of anger and hostility; blacks have too many children; black women have children in order to collect welfare.

Positive Personal Relations but Uneasiness In Group Relations

While most young Americans talk about their own interactions with individuals of other races and ethnic groups in upbeat terms, many tend to characterize intergroup relations in the larger societal context as fraught with tension or even hostility.

In the broadest terms, a majority of survey respondents (53%) say their experience leads them to believe that people of different races and ethnic groups tend to feel pretty comfortable dealing with each other, as opposed to feeling uneasy (39%). Hispanic youth are the most confident (59% comfortable, 34% uneasy), and white youth generally agree, though by a smaller margin (54% comfortable, 39% uneasy). Black youth, on the other hand, are almost evenly divided on this question: 44% say the races tend to be pretty comfortable interacting, and a slight plurality feel people of different racial and ethnic groups are uneasy with one another (47%).

When the question moves from the general to the specific issue of black/white relations, however, young people's answers reveal strong currents

of tension and division. Asked whether whites feel comfortable dealing with blacks, majorities of whites, blacks, and Hispanics say they do not. This negative response is voiced by 54% of whites who have a lot of contact and friendship with blacks and by 72% of college-educated blacks. Majorities also say black people are uncomfortable dealing with white people (including 63% of college-educated blacks who give this response).

The extent of this mutual uneasiness and reliance on stereotypes is suggested by the 56% majority among whites who agree that "white people would not be safe going into *most* black neighborhoods" (note that this statement does not refer at all to the socioeconomic character of the neighborhoods); 38% of young blacks agree with this assertion. Similarly, four in ten black respondents agree that "black people would not be safe going into most white neighborhoods" (23% of whites agree with this statement).

To get beneath the surface on the issue of how American society handles racial and ethnic interaction, we asked one-on-one respondents to discuss the way whites, blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities get along with one another at the personal level:

I don't feel that whites feel comfortable because it's really different. A lot of black people act a lot different from white people--slang, speech, dressing. I think whites are uncomfortable because a lot of black people are loud. Black people are like hard core. It's easier for blacks to be with whites than for whites to be with blacks. A lot of Hispanics are real quiet and hang around each other. It would be hard for them to be with all whites because they feel singled out.

Male, Native American, 16, Portland, OR, Currently in 11th grade

[Hispanics] don't like being around white people, because they picture that white people right away have an education, which the Hispanic probably didn't.

Male, Hispanic, 24, San Jose, CA, Completed 12th grade

I think blacks could be less defensive about their race. Blacks have put up a wall between themselves and white America, and they have to get past it themselves.

Female, Black, 21, Houston, TX, Completed 3rd or 4th year of college

A lot of people don't. I've seen it. I think whites are more comfortable with Hispanics than blacks because they are basically the same color. The whites didn't use the Hispanics as slaves or anything, just the blacks. [Blacks'] habits and origins are different than [whites']. The majority of the whites are cleaner than the blacks--their houses, everything. Yes, Hispanics see that there is a greater opportunity here than in their country, and they are grateful to the whites that they are able to come to the country.

Female, Hispanic, 19, Pinellas Park, FL, Currently in 12th grade

Even though [my] school is pretty much mixed, . . . you'll still see blacks hanging out with blacks, whites hanging out with whites, and Hispanics hanging out with Hispanics. You [do] see it mixed, and everyone has friends in every group, but people tend to stick together.

Female, White, 16, Albuquerque, NM, Currently in 11th grade

Some whites feel intimidated by blacks. The black girls make a lot of noise in the dorms, and my roommate is afraid to approach them and say be quiet.

Female, Asian, 18, Virginia Beach, VA, Currently in 1st or 2nd year of college

These comments are in sharp contrast to those regarding respondents' own daily interactions with people of other races, and they bring into high resolution the ingrained attitudinal barriers to better race relations in America.

Interpretation

Young people's very positive experiences of intergroup relations in their personal lives, along with the common ground of values this study has identified, offer a useful starting point for efforts to encourage better race relations in America. In communications with youth, abstractions such as "equal opportunity" and "a fair chance" need grounding in the tangible, in what they mean for individual human beings--people like us, people like our friends--in order to take on more potency as social values that America and all Americans should strive to promote.

By and large, our youth are not yet able to make their personal friendships with individuals the basis for their attitudes toward racial and ethnic groups as a whole; instead, they tend to form their opinions of other groups through prevailing stereotypes and clichés. Among many young people, it seems that fear, misunderstanding, mistrust, and misconceptions about those who are "other," who are unlike oneself, tend to prevail over even the most reassuring personal experiences that might put those misgivings to rest. While young Americans talk with animation and sincerity about having fun with their friends, about the easygoing social exchanges among "the mix of races" in their classrooms and workplaces, they are just as likely to express anger or display prejudice toward other races as a whole, and to reveal a sense of resignation or pessimism about the state of race relations in today's society. The words of a black college student in Austin, Texas, must not become the epigraph for race relations as we enter the next millennium: "Most whites do not feel comfortable interacting with blacks because they don't know anything about us, about minorities. Most blacks don't know anything about whites and don't really care to learn anything about them."

SECTION V
REACTIONS TO POLICY APPROACHES

Strong Endorsement of Integration

We have emphasized earlier in the report that the youth of America have in common certain values--especially fairness and self-reliance--to which the nation's leaders should appeal in any call for healing the wounds caused by racial discord.

Beyond fair treatment and personal responsibility, young people's core values also induce them to reject out of hand the idea of racial separatism as a solution to race-related problems and to embrace the concept of increased integration as a goal for society.

Asked whether they agree or disagree that "it's generally best if the people of each race keep to themselves," overwhelming majorities of whites (88%), blacks (88%), and Hispanics (82%) repudiate this premise. **Moreover, the vast majority of white (82%), black (87%), and Hispanic (92%) youth say it is a very or fairly important goal for race relations "to have more racial integration so that people of different races live, go to school, and work more closely with each other."**

A white high school junior living in the Southwest explains that integration "is a very important thing, [because] we are all in this together--everyone is here together--and we need to learn to work as one; otherwise, no one will accomplish anything." She says increased integration would make us "a lot stronger [as a] nation," and believes that "if you are being taught hate or prejudice, it just makes everything a lot lower, but if we are being taught to love and be colorblind, our standards will be a lot higher. We would be united."

The survey reveals, however, that there may be some discrepancies in young people's interpretation of the concept of integration. While majorities of the three main racial and ethnic groups disagree that "it's okay to have a country where the races are basically separate from one another, as long as they all have equal opportunities," sizable proportions (from about one-third of blacks and Hispanics to two-fifths of whites) agree with the premise of this statement.

Although most young people see increased racial integration as a realistic goal--overall, three in five say it "could really happen" in America--older respondents are less likely than younger ones to share that conviction. **As we have seen elsewhere in this study, the oldest and most educated blacks are among the groups least likely to see integration as an achievable goal.**

Support for Policy Approaches to Race Relations

One of this study's key findings is that young Americans' attitudes toward solutions to the race relations dilemma--especially toward policies in the areas of education and employment--are influenced profoundly by youths' perceptions of immediate threats to their self-interest. Moreover, the politically charged debate over issues such as affirmative action appears to have caused deep divisions of opinion along racial lines among our youngest citizens just as it has among older generations.

We presented survey respondents with seven potential approaches to dealing with racial problems in our society and, for each one, asked whether it

would help a lot, help a little, not make much difference, or go too far and be a step in the wrong direction. All seven proposals are seen by majorities of whites, blacks, and Hispanics as promising to help at least a little.

	—Would Help A Lot/Help A Little—			
	Whites %	Blacks %	Hispanics %	All Youth %
Get people to take more responsibility for themselves, rather than blaming others for their problems	94	92	95	94
Encourage more integration of the public schools	76	83	83	78
Require all students to take classes in the history and culture of various minority groups	73	87	79	76
Give more scholarships and financial aid to minority students to make it easier for them to get an education	69	84	85	73
Make it harder for people to stay on welfare	64	58	61	63
Punish students who use racial slurs in school	57	66	65	60
Require companies to hire and promote adequate numbers of minorities	53	80	65	58

Once again, we see the importance young Americans attach to self-reliance in their universal concurrence that getting people to take responsibility for themselves would help solve racial problems in our country. At least 90% of youth in every demographic and attitudinal subgroup—including 96% each of lower income whites and lower income blacks—are in agreement on this issue.

It is partly in keeping with their creed of individual responsibility that about three in five whites, blacks, and Hispanics say making it more difficult for recipients

to stay on welfare would help in dealing with the country's race-related problems. Welfare, however, has become a deeply politicized issue in recent years, and our in-depth conversations with young people reveal the degree to which youth have internalized some of the most strident arguments against such assistance and some of the most common fallacies about the recipients of welfare.

Two other potential solutions elicit support from three-quarters or more of white, black, and Hispanic youth: requiring education in minority cultures, and encouraging greater public school integration. As well, roughly three-fifths to two-thirds of young people in each of these three racial or ethnic groups feel it would help to punish students who use racial slurs.

The two remaining items--broadly representative of an affirmative action agenda--generate somewhat more diverse responses, especially in intensity of support. Majorities of young whites (69%), blacks (84%), and Hispanics (85%) favor providing more scholarships and aid to minority students, but blacks and Hispanics are more likely to feel this type of assistance would make *a lot* of difference. Similarly, a majority of whites (53%) support the idea of requiring employers to hire and promote "adequate numbers" of minorities, as do two-thirds of Hispanics (65%) and four-fifths of blacks (80%); again, greater proportions of blacks and Hispanics believe it would help *a lot*. White youth who are currently in high school are significantly more likely to say employment quotas for minorities would help than are their older counterparts who are closer to or already at the stage of competing for jobs themselves.

Special Efforts to Help

The question of dealing with economic and educational disadvantages has become extremely polarizing in our society. It is clear in our interviews and discussions with youth that, not only do young people see their self-interest as at stake in this debate, but they also have bought into the politicized turmoil that currently impedes productive solutions to the problems of poverty and discrimination in America.

More than anything in the study, the idea of special help directed exclusively toward minorities elicits a rift in opinion between blacks and whites. Language, we find, has a marked impact on young people's reactions: It appears that repeated political rhetoric has given certain words the power to evoke negative responses. Thus, the more the concept of affirmative action is presented in terms evocative of quotas, the less support it receives--even among black youth.

Half the survey respondents were asked whether colleges should give "special preference" to minority students and whether employers should give "special preference" to minority job applicants, and the other half were asked the same questions, but with the phrase "special consideration" substituted for "special preference." The following table presents the results:

	"Special Preference" To Minority Students			"Special Consideration" To Minority Students		
	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	26	52	56	40	74	57
No	64	37	35	51	20	35

	"Special Preference" To Minority Job Applicants			"Special Consideration" To Minority Job Applicants		
	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	15	40	41	27	60	43
No	78	50	57	65	29	46

We note very important differences in responses not only to the language used in each instance, but to the application of assistance in the two situations. Generally speaking, youth display a much greater willingness to lend a helping hand to those in need who are preparing themselves educationally than to those who are entering the employment world.

Clear majorities of whites oppose using "special preference" to help minorities get a college education or, especially, a job. Moreover, only simple majorities of blacks and Hispanics support "special preference" as a means of increasing minority enrollment in colleges, and a plurality of blacks and a majority of Hispanics *reject* "special preference" as a tool for increasing minority employment.

Framing this issue in terms of giving "special consideration" to minorities is plainly less divisive. Whites' approval of "special consideration" for minority students is 14 points higher than their support for "special preference," and their assent on help for minority job applicants increases by 12% with the use of "consideration" instead of "preference."

All young people's strong belief in self-reliance, and young whites' sense that everyone is facing tough times, however, combine to create a climate of uncertainty about or resentment toward the idea that particular groups should be singled out to receive help.

The one-on-one respondents discussed the suggestion of "giving special considerations to minorities that are not necessarily given to whites," and their thoughts are instructive regarding some of the mixed feelings that underlie young Americans' attitudes on the dilemma of minorities in our society. An Hispanic college student believes it is "only fair for minorities to get special considerations, [because] we are a lot more disadvantaged than the whites," but he also understands why some whites might complain that they do not "receive the same benefits as Hispanics or blacks." Ultimately, he argues, minorities "tend to deserve the financial aid and the benefits that we get," elaborating that "[Hispanics] tend to be poor [and are] not as wealthy as the American people."

A white high school junior feels that special considerations for minorities may help remedy the "mistakes" of the past, but argues that assistance targeted exclusively at minorities would "not [be] fair to whites; it's not fair at all." As she

looks forward to entering college, she says, she doesn't "want to be turned down because I'm white. I don't want to have less of a scholarship because I'm white. I think I deserve the same thing as anyone else."

Two young blacks--neither of whom has gone to college--essentially share the position that special considerations in and of themselves are not a cure-all. In the words of a young woman from Detroit, "If blacks really want to be [in college], they'll be there." Across the country, in Long Beach, California, a 23-year-old man asserts, "There's nothing wrong with helping [minorities], but you can only help them to a certain extent and then they have to put their own mind and body into it and work for it." He feels that "a lot of people are lazy now because they have been helped from all these special programs, [and] they don't want to help themselves."

Perhaps a twelfth-grader in Providence, Rhode Island, best summarizes how the value of fairness, in combination with even subtle implications of blame, plays out among young whites today: "I have two ideas. Sometimes I think that's right, and sometimes I think that's wrong. I've spoken with black people before who thought that I owed them something because they had been oppressed before, and I don't think I personally do owe them. But I know that they still have problems, that they do need help. You have white people also who don't have all that money. I think to give it to that black person just because they are black isn't fair to the white person, whereas it's not fair to give it to that white person just because they're white. [Special considerations] bother me, but I know that when

I go to go to these schools, I don't want to go to a campus that's all white and that's all the same. Having more diversity, race-wise, will make it a more interesting school."

Interpretation

This generation of young Americans--coming of age in the absence of legally segregated classrooms, lunch counters, drinking fountains, and public accommodations--manifests a strong and genuine commitment to a more fully integrated society. There is, however, much divergence about what America needs to do to achieve this ideal. While young people's own experiences have taught them the importance of treating one another as human beings, with fairness and mutual respect, much of what they see and hear in the public dialogue on race inhibits these good intentions and reinforces negative stereotypes.

Thus, when goals for achieving or ensuring full equality for minorities are presented in *inclusive* terms and language, youth support these principles. When they are expressed as *exclusive*, young people--particularly young whites, but substantial numbers of blacks and Hispanics as well--turn against such objectives. Tensions rise, self-interest comes to the fore, and compassion for those who are less fortunate diminishes.

Parents, teachers, politicians, and other leaders in our communities must put an end to the bitter divisiveness of the public dialogue on opportunity, fairness, and race, because it has taken a destructive toll on young Americans' otherwise generally positive racial attitudes. Indeed, the much-manipulated rhetoric of race relations, sometimes used with such facility to engender divisions, can as easily be put to constructive purposes to communicate an agenda grounded in the values of fair treatment and personal responsibility--one that seeks to help those most in need get a fair chance to help themselves, and one that inspires a sense of common purpose rather than resentment or exclusion. In the words of one young minority woman, "Once we change it and think of minorities as [anyone who is] in need, we can equal out."

SECTION VI
VOICES OF MINORITY AMERICA

This section of the report presents our analysis of the most important findings from the in-person interviews with black and Hispanic youth.² The one-on-one phase of the project, in fact, permits us to go beyond the data from the survey and hear the voices and explore the thought processes behind all the numbers. Not intended to be statistically representative or quantified, the one-on-one interviews were designed to provide a sense of what and how today's youth think about the complex subject of race relations.

Multidimensional Views on Issues of Race

In general, minority youth tend to have very clear and largely unified perceptions both of persistent racial and ethnic discrimination in American society and of problems that originate within their own communities. Encompassed in those broad views, however, are divergent attitudes on specific issues, problems, and solutions.

Not surprisingly, minority youth are more inclined than are most whites to support institutionalized forms of special assistance for members of their own groups. Some blacks' and Hispanics' opinions on this question, however, encompass the conviction that anyone who tries hard can and should be able to succeed on his or her own, without further aid. Other blacks and Hispanics believe that minority individuals start off at a disadvantage and thus should receive help that may not be available to everyone equally.

²All of the one-on-one interviews were conducted by a professional field interviewer of the same race or ethnic group as the respondent.

A 21-year-old Hispanic youth asserts that "if you really do want to succeed, you will find a way. You won't let anybody talk you down as long as you have confidence in yourself. You just have to keep trying; it can be done." Two years younger, another Hispanic young man would argue that his own father, "who worked hard all his life [and] got all these degrees," still encountered socially imposed limitations: "the only job available to him was checking groceries."

For some minority youth, although the value of hard work is very strong, it is tempered by the recognition that latent or overt prejudice among whites can proscribe the number and variety of opportunities available to minorities. Especially among blacks, there is a sense that racist attitudes are a serious obstacle to even the most determined efforts on the part of individuals. A black Los Angeles resident who has completed two years of high school poignantly describes why he disagrees that prosperity will come to anyone who tries his or her best: "Right now, when you go to a white store, they look dead at you because you're black." He also expresses a deep skepticism that the material tokens of success will ever be his: "I'm 22 and I been working hard all my life. I don't have no Mercedes; I don't live in Beverly Hills. You just can't do it."

Indeed, despite their firm belief in self-reliance, many of the blacks and Hispanics who participated in this study admit that educational and economic opportunities for minorities are often circumscribed by old prejudices. According to an Hispanic youngster in San Jose, a white job applicant always has the upper hand these days, since "white people think they're smarter than the other people

because of the color of their skin." A black Atlanta resident concurs, contending that prospective employers (presumably white) "feel like they can trust a white person rather than a black person."

Beyond these perceptions of bigotry, young black and Hispanic youth also tend to express very serious doubts about what it means when a white employer *does* hire a minority individual. A number of these young people feel that, in such cases, the hiring decision must have been compelled by equal opportunity mandates and is not based on an evaluation of each applicant's qualifications or even on a sincere desire to offer a minority candidate a fair chance.

Some minority respondents acknowledge that racial bias seems to be the rule for *all* employers: "If there's a white person hiring, then the white is going to hire the white; if there's a black hiring, then the black will hire the black, and the same for the Hispanic--because, no matter what, I think that's always going to happen." A 21-year-old black woman from Houston says that, while "companies have to hire their 'tokens' . . . over more qualified whites," she feels that "in a lot of instances," minority employers also discriminate because they "tend to hire amongst their own people."

Attitudes toward Special Advantages for Minorities

On the specific question of whether minorities receive too many or too few special advantages, young blacks and Hispanics display very mixed attitudes. Representing one point of view, an 18-year-old black college student says, "It's a

little of both," and goes on to imply that some efforts to assist minorities are like "trying to help a situation that is too far gone;" she suggests that it would be more useful to focus "on those that can be [helped] and really are healthy."

A different perspective is offered by a 19-year-old Hispanic woman, who feels "Hispanics receive too many advantages." She would prefer "to see more advantages go to the people who need it, instead of the people getting it just because of their particular race or culture." Arguing the other side, a black youth contends that "we're not doing enough to help minorities. Hispanics, blacks to a certain extent, Asians, any minority--especially minorities that have recently come to this country--are having problems."

A relatively rare variation of minority youths' positions on this issue entails resentment on the part of some that certain groups are getting more than others. For example, an Hispanic eleventh-grader says, "the government's paying for [the Vietnamese], and they're always getting what they want and they are having these companies over here and all that." Similarly, this 15-year-old black youth believes that blacks are owed special advantages "because of all they went through: besides the five or six hundred years of slavery, . . . after that there was still segregation." At the same time, she thinks "Hispanics and Cubans receive too many advantages." Another black from Washington, DC, insists that "the ones who come into the United States have more privileges and are able to get more loans, . . . and they have more advantages than the blacks who have been here all the time."

Views of Minority Poverty

Our conversations with minority youth reveal that, while prejudice exists among blacks and Hispanics just as it does among whites, many young blacks are quick to recognize the unique challenges--particularly the language barrier and the struggle for citizenship--faced by Hispanics, and many young Hispanics clearly empathize with blacks' unique history of oppression.

The script for the one-on-one interviews asked young people why blacks and Hispanics, respectively, tend to be worse off in our society when it comes to jobs, income, and housing. Black and Hispanic youth themselves offer answers that range from laying the blame at society's feet to holding minority individuals culpable for their own situation, from inferences based on racial and ethnic stereotypes to generalizations about a particular group's world view.

To the Hispanic youth who says blacks are worse off "because of the social and economic oppression of the black people," this black youth would counter: "Black people are lazy." To the 23-year-old black man who claims, "it's the way blacks carry themselves: you got a lot of people with this 'I don't give a damn' attitude," this 16-year-old Hispanic young woman would reply, "People are telling [blacks] that they are no good, so that's the way they think of themselves and so they don't try."

Although some young Hispanics think blacks' socioeconomic situation stems from "[seeing] drugs as the easy way out" or is due to an instability in their family life--"most of the women are single mothers and the kids grow up in the

streets"--young blacks are much harder on their own race. For example, an 18-year-old Mississippian believes "most blacks have a tendency of not taking care of their places and their community," and asserts that "maybe if they [tried to help themselves], our society wouldn't look on them so bad." Another tough critic of her fellow blacks is a young woman who feels that "blacks seem to have more of a problem with resentment of blacks that are advancing, rather than patting them on the back. And blacks that have advanced, rather than giving a helping hand to the others, seem to want to forget where they came from."

A number of blacks and Hispanics alike admit that, while social oppression is a factor, blacks too often use unfair treatment as an excuse for not trying hard enough to overcome societal obstacles. "They use society as an excuse for not being able to move up," says an Hispanic from Florida, and another claims "some black people don't have the determination and desire that they need to succeed, and they give up very quickly." One of the more sympathetic black respondents, a young woman from the Bronx, notes that effort does not always lead to success: "There are a lot of blacks out there that don't do anything for themselves except complain about what's not right, but then there are those that do try and they're in the same situation." The predominant view among blacks in these interviews, however, is succinctly put by a 19-year-old from Detroit: "Ain't no one gonna help you if you don't want to help yourself."

The story is somewhat different on the question of why Hispanics tend to be economically disadvantaged in America. A number of young people recognize

that, since many Hispanic-Americans are immigrants, they face a significant language barrier. As well, a number of youth see Hispanics as having few employment choices other than manual labor, which too often leaves them open to abuse by employers.

One Hispanic youth sums up what he sees as the dilemma of many people who come to the United States from Latin countries: "It boils down to education. Most Hispanics come to America to make a better living for themselves, and they come with low education; therefore, some of them can't even speak the language and they are forced to take jobs in the fields, picking strawberries, and they're willing to work for a small amount of money because, no matter how small it is, it's probably more than they were making back in their own country."

One young man from Houston says Hispanics "don't know how the system works," and a Miami resident elaborates, "They're just starting off in a new country, in a new place [that is] different from what they were in before." Also sympathetic is a black youth who feels that Hispanics "have problems by being willing to take jobs below the minimum wage" and finds fault with society for "[looking] at them as being inferior because of the type of work they do or because they do not speak the language as well as people who are here; . . . people call them 'wet-backs.'"

Not everyone believes Hispanics have fewer opportunities or face exploitation by employers. A black Californian argues that "a Hispanic person can come over here and get a job quicker than most blacks can," and says "it's really

their fault" that they "take jobs that are only paying minimum wage. . . . They don't come out and give it their all to go get those jobs that's paying nine, ten dollars an hour; they settle, so it's really their fault. It's not our fault."

Once again, there is a split in opinion between those who feel this minority group "[should] be given more opportunities" and those who believe "[you've] got to work for things in your life; you can't just sit down till God gives you money."

Attitudes toward Policy Solutions

In terms of what America should be doing to make sure minorities have a fair chance to get ahead later in life, young blacks and Hispanics emphasize the importance of providing financial aid (especially for education), employment opportunities, and general support for individuals or families that are struggling. Minority youth do not agree, however, on how this assistance should be distributed.

Some feel that "because whites have had an advantage and upper hand on things for so many years, . . . it's a very good idea to have financial aid and special considerations given to the minorities so they can have the chance whites have." Others are just as adamant that offering special assistance to particular groups "wouldn't be fair to others," and contend, "If you give somebody something, they are just going to always depend on you for everything. I think everyone should work hard for what they need to get to make it in life."

Assessments of Race Relations

As we found in the survey, minority youth interviewed in person tend to have mixed attitudes about the state of race relations in general. On the one hand, some feel that "the different races get along pretty well in our country," since, as this Hispanic college student says, he sees "blacks walking with whites, and Hispanics with blacks." On the other hand, some young people believe that even though "there are a lot of races around," "the races still assume things about each other, without educating themselves about each other."

Instances of personal relationships that comfortably cross racial boundaries--"interracial marriages and stuff"--are offset by examples of thoughtless bigotry: "There was a famous actor, Debbie Reynolds, [who said] she didn't know why there are so many Hispanics out of work [because] there are so many wealthy white people who need people to do their lawn." Perceptions that "the majority of people do not have a problem as far as race relations" and that "there's not that much bigotry or prejudice" are countered by allusions to David Duke, the Rodney King beating, and people who are "burning crosses on black lawns and Hispanic lawns."

The race relations dilemma and many other serious domestic problems, say these youth, are not being handled well by America's leaders. A young black man feels that "if [members of Congress] did their jobs better, things wouldn't be so bad," and a high school senior suggests, "they need to concentrate on what they have here at home."

Asked what he would advise President Bush and other political leaders to do to improve race relations, an Hispanic youth says, "It boils down to education. You've got to educate people that races are the same and people are the same. [Political leaders] should be doing a lot." "Start with yourself," suggests a 15-year-old black from Miami. "Make sure you are not sending off any racial prejudices through yourself, because a lot of people are looking at you" An Hispanic Houstonian would turn the tables on Congress: "If you look at the Senate, most of the people are white. Most of the people in the House of Representatives are white upper class. The way to help our country is by having leaders in those positions that affect the country. We need more Hispanic people in Congress in decision area positions; we need people from every race."

Interpretation

It is critical to recognize that there is no unified or uniform view on race relations among any given group--black, Hispanic, or white--in this study. Rather, young people may agree or disagree in larger or smaller numbers on a particular issue, but even within the same racial or ethnic group, the diversity of opinions, experiences, and conclusions demands sensitivity and, perhaps more than ever before, greater open-mindedness from listeners and leaders in communities all across America.

We have underscored several times in this report that young people place tremendous value on individual effort and hard work; this comes across clearly in young Americans' own words in the qualitative phases of the research as well as in the survey. It is vital, therefore, to insist that the idea of self-reliance should neither be manipulated as a code word or excuse for doing little to help minorities, on the one hand, nor shortchanged or ignored as irrelevant on the other.

In searching for solutions to America's racial problems, it might be tempting to dismiss a white person's argument for self-reliance over giving special help to minorities as thinly veiled racism or self-protectionism, but it is not so easy to dismiss the same argument when it comes from blacks and Hispanics. Just as the survey findings reveal that the vast majority of youth have seized on the concept of personal responsibility as the ideal of their generation, so too do the face-to-face conversations demonstrate the degree to which many young blacks and Hispanics in particular look on individual effort as a point of self-confidence and pride.

Young people's general concern over the nation's current and future direction continues to manifest itself regarding the specific issue of race relations. Disenchanted with politicians and the political process, the blacks and Hispanics with whom we spoke call for government leaders to turn their attention to race relations and start "representing their people instead of playing around." Though the suggestions for what actions our leaders should take vary widely, perhaps the most pointed one is made by this 17-year-old: "They should come around to different communities and talk to us, hear our ideas or what we would like to see happen. . . . They should talk to our youth more, because we're going to be the ones *making* tomorrow and being here tomorrow."

SECTION VII
VOICES OF THE WHITE MAJORITY

In previous sections of this report, we have written about the varying breadth of the perception gap between whites and minorities on issues related to discrimination and victimization. Although our examination of the in-person interviews and focus groups with young whites underscores that whites' views, like those of young blacks and Hispanics, are not monolithic, it also offers ample evidence of the preponderance of white opinion that lies on the other side of the majority/minority divide.

Attitudes toward Racism

Whereas many minority youth have a clear-eyed view of racism in America, many white youth are less inclined to perceive discrimination--especially the institutional practice of discrimination--as a present-day phenomenon. Moreover, to the extent that they do acknowledge racial and ethnic prejudice as a current problem, a number of whites feel they are unfairly being blamed for what they see as the "mistakes" of the distant past and, therefore, the responsibilities of older generations.

"The stress between races exists, and it would be naive to say it doesn't," remarks a 17-year-old Rhode Island resident, "but I think what's different, and what points to that stress receding, is the fact that we're able to take those tensions and deal with them in an analytical and rational manner, as opposed to an overly emotional type of attitude." This young man's sentiments are hardly representative of all young whites' attitudes; nevertheless, they bespeak a phenomenon that is

important to recognize, for many whites who are entering adulthood in the 1990s may not fully accept, either intellectually or intuitively, the extent to which minorities--*real people*, including their own friends--are still forced to battle discrimination and racism in America today.

During a discussion about race relations early in one of the Raleigh focus group sessions, a young woman admits, "I don't think things are good," but then says, "I don't think they're any worse than they were a few years ago. It's [just that] now [when] something comes up, it's a racial issue, whereas years ago it wasn't a racial issue." Her feelings are echoed by another white youth, who thinks "a lot of them make an issue out of being black I think a lot of people, instead of getting on with some things that are really important, like to make a big issue out of being--always trying to find someone that's discriminating against them."

The view that too many problems these days are inappropriately attributed to racism is shared by a number of young whites. One woman says some blacks' tendency to blame race for every personal defeat is similar to some women's inclination, when "a man gets the job instead of a woman," to feel "like you didn't get it because you're a woman." A few white youths believe they have been unjustly accused of taking actions or making decisions that are motivated by prejudice; one young man claims he is currently "under a lawsuit from a black male who decided [that], since I'm a sergeant and he's just a guard, the reason I fired him was racial."

At the same time that many whites resent implicit or explicit accusations of racism, some display a facile reliance on stereotypes of minorities in communicating their views on race relations. During the focus group sessions, for example, some participants offer associations of Hispanics with "fuzzy dice" and "low-riding cars," and of blacks with drugs, crime, "having three times as many kids as other families," and welfare dependency.

Another side of many young whites' sense of exasperation that too much is blamed on racism may be that whites clearly do not want to be made to feel guilty or held accountable for what they tend to see as *past* abuses of minorities by white society. A Raleigh youth asks, "How long can [blacks] hold that grudge for something that we're not even responsible for?" By and large, they view themselves as different from and much more tolerant than older generations of whites: "As soon as I see a black person, or whatever color they might be, I'll give them a chance at the very beginning. . . . What is different for me than with my parents is that my parents and grandparents wouldn't even give them a chance." One young woman particularly resents that "everybody takes down this generation [for] something that we can't even do anything about."

More than not wanting to be considered prejudiced or to be blamed for past injustices however, a number of young whites feel it is unfair to ascribe interracial tensions to white racism when, in their estimation, minority individuals are as likely to be at fault as are white people. "Mainly it's hostilities

between both sides," admits a young man in Raleigh. "Everybody feels like it's the other guy."

A number of whites are angry, too, about what they perceive as an anti-white "attitude" on the part of some blacks, citing the television program *In Living Color* and tee-shirts that read, "It's a black thing; you wouldn't understand" as examples of blacks' openly accusatory frame of mind in social encounters with whites. One young focus group participant, who agrees that discrimination and prejudice are still a problem for blacks, argues that this is because "they bring it on themselves To me, they just have attitudes, and most--the majority of them--you just don't like. . . . They act like they're angry, and they come in acting like they're treated unfairly."

The Blame Game

Underlying the perception that race relations in America are characterized all too frequently by finger-pointing and attempts to assign blame is, once again, young people's deeply internalized belief in the values of self-reliance and hard work. For whites especially, charges of discrimination made by minorities are very likely to be interpreted as a sign that the accusers "have a chip on their shoulder" or are abdicating responsibility for their own circumstances. According to a young white in Raleigh, "they blame the white man too much and don't concentrate on their education and building their self-esteem up."

In one of the focus group sessions, a young woman rationalizes that since "[blacks] are a minority, they have to work up. I wouldn't want to do it if I was being treated unfairly. But if you want to get ahead, if you want to stop being low-income, then you've got to do it. It's not fair, but you have to, and a lot of them don't want to." A number of her fellow participants share the view that what they see as blacks' lack of individual effort--societal unfairness notwithstanding--is to blame for many blacks' socioeconomic circumstances. They express a belief that, as a rule, white Americans work harder than do blacks. The latter, according to one young man, are "waiting on a handout," which is the result of "everybody else letting them have it instead of making them work for it and fight their way ahead." In contrast, says another panelist, "white people always have had to work and work and work to build their way up. I'm not saying all blacks, but some blacks feel like they worked back in the 1800s, so they don't have to work now."

Young whites' refusal to be held responsible for the socioeconomic disadvantages faced by some blacks and Hispanics is exacerbated by a conviction that it is now the white majority that faces discriminatory practices in higher education and on the job front. "I have to struggle just as hard as a Hispanic person, but these days I have to struggle even more, because I see more scholarships and more grants and loans available for minorities than I do for myself," explains a 20-year-old New Mexico resident. A young woman in Virginia says that, based on her own experience, she is convinced blacks receive too many advantages: "There's a school I applied to, and I had 200 to 300 points

higher on my SATs and a lot more activities; he had a 'C' grade point average and I had a 'B'; he was a black male and I was a white female. He got in and I didn't because they weren't looking for white people. It was like reverse prejudice." In Iowa, a young white thinks "we've gone overboard," because "just referring to blacks and Hispanics as minorities is labeling so that they deserve more, and I don't think that's the case. I think everybody should have to work."

When pressed to explain why blacks and Hispanics tend to be worse off than whites in our society, some young whites in the focus groups and one-on-one interviews admit that minorities may be treated unfairly sometimes or have faced "too much past prejudice," but many tend to view those experiences as relics of an earlier era. Some young whites also deny that minorities *are* at a disadvantage, feeling instead that "they have as many opportunities as we do." What one youth describes as "a chain of poverty"--variously depicted by others as a self-perpetuating welfare cycle, lack of education to get better jobs, the oppression of daily life in "slums" and "old houses you see that you think nobody would live in," and "the family breakdown"--is seen by some young whites as an explanation, but not necessarily an excuse, for why many black and Hispanic people are less well off than whites.

The Dialogue on Race

"I feel that racial issues have been talked about so much. Here in the South, that's all we talk about: the black people and the white people. I'm getting tired of

hearing about it, actually," says a white college student from Spartanburg, South Carolina. A participant in the Raleigh focus groups thinks that "if everybody would stop bringing [racism] up and stop pointing it out, it wouldn't be so bad," and another wonders, "Why are we talking about this? I mean, it should be dropped, and we all just should be one."

These comments provide an important insight into how a number of young whites have formed their attitudes toward race relations in America: **few have ever been asked to think about the subject, some feel uncomfortable when asked to do so, and others react with the wishful notion that racial problems would disappear if we simply didn't discuss them.**

While some white youth feel, however, that "the only people who are going to work it out are one black person and one white person talking to one another," others sincerely appreciate being called upon to examine their own behavior and ideas about racial issues: "It made me see that I don't know where I stand."

Interpretation

One of the participants in the focus groups among whites claims to "know a lot of people who are really prejudiced," and candidly admits "I myself am prejudiced." The practices of making assumptions about other people based on ethnicity and of being negatively predisposed to individuals of another race or ethnic group are, in fact, dramatically demonstrated in the unfolding of both focus group sessions. These manifestations of discrimination provide many insights into the way average, decent people, most of whom have close and ongoing friendships with blacks, still construct their larger racial attitudes upon stereotypes and are swayed by lingering prejudices.

Perhaps because so many young whites experience daily in their neighborhoods, schools, and workplaces personal interactions among races that a few decades ago could not have existed, and perhaps because so many believe that they personally are not prejudiced toward the minority individuals they know or have befriended, some find it easier to reject racial discord as something "magnified more by the media" than to acknowledge it as a significant social problem confronting all Americans.

Certainly the sense that much, if not all, is well--or is better than before--may play a part in white youths' difficulty grappling with why "some people have really big problems" dealing with members of other racial and ethnic groups. When a white teenager can say, "[my interactions with minorities] are not any different than with anyone else," or that "one of my best friends is black and one is Filipino and another is white," he or she may be less likely to acknowledge that racism remains a pervasive problem in America.

Perhaps as much as anything, white youth wish--justifiably or not--for a halt to the accusations and assumptions that they harbor the same ill will or prejudices toward minorities as did earlier generations of whites. Certainly, some of the whites with whom we spoke display opinions about racial and ethnic groups that can only be characterized as bigoted, but many clearly reject such thinking and reveal instead an openness and optimism about race relations *on a personal level* that affords a much more productive starting point for efforts to improve race relations in America.

This is not to say that negative attitudes--on all sides--should not be discussed or examined, or that a public dialogue on race should not take place. It is to say, however, that the futility of the blame game demands a new approach to our social discourse. The terms of the debate and the way in which it is approached will be critical in determining whether young people (especially young whites) feel their participation will constitute progress and not simply a reopening of old wounds. As one young woman maintains, "we all should be people. We should just be people. . . . And we should just be able to live together."

SECTION VIII

THE CHALLENGE OF LEADERSHIP IN THE 1990s

While some truly heartening signs emerge in this research--most notably the genuine moral weight that young whites, blacks, and Hispanics give to the principles of fairness--the central findings of this inquiry are far more disturbing than comforting.

Today, among the first generation of Americans to have been born and raised with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968 as the law of the land, race and the pivotal issues of race relations remain sources of division, anger, and mistrust.

It is hardly a time for complacency when majorities of both races say whites and blacks feel uneasy dealing with one another in our society, and each blames the other for the animosities between them.

It is hardly a time for self-congratulation when the best educated young black people are the most cynical about the sincerity of white America's commitment to the elimination of prejudice.

And it is hardly a time for self-satisfaction when there is substantial disagreement between the races about the very meaning of "fairness," and each race feels itself to be a victim of the status quo in American race relations.

Our research shows that, while Hispanics have a somewhat less negative view than do blacks about the extent of discrimination in American society, young Americans of Hispanic descent share young blacks' perception that America must be much more ambitious about ensuring that minority citizens have an adequate chance to take their rightful place in our society.

This project was not undertaken simply to document the current state of race relations and racial attitudes among young Americans, although that obviously is an essential starting point for our mission. Our larger and more important purpose is to help define a constructive and productive approach to meeting the challenges of race relations among a new generation of Americans in the 1990s.

In that context, we conclude our report with a few observations and recommendations about what is required of those who seek to provide leadership for justice, healing, and harmony in our nation. Some of these recommendations take the form of admonitions about what *not* to do and which detours to avoid. Others call for active and determined leadership--with the courage to do what is right rather than what is merely expedient, and with the vision to recognize that the old answers may not always be the relevant answers today.

1. Benign neglect is not a viable answer to the problems of American race relations; *indeed, it is a part of the problem.* This is a time to ask young Americans to reflect upon and reconsider their attitudes toward race, rather than to make them feel comfortable about ignoring these issues.

Many of the young whites with whom we spoke complained that our society spends too much time dwelling on race. But it is clear that before they participated in this project, very few of them had ever been asked to examine their own attitudes about race and race relations. When we asked these young people

to do so, many discovered that their prejudices and hostilities ran counter to their ideals and their sense of fair-mindedness.

2. Any racial politics which takes the assignment of blame as its central premise is destined to push America even further in the wrong direction in terms of resolving the problems of race relations. This is a time to help young Americans to find common ground and common purpose with their fellow citizens, not a time to encourage finger-pointing and fault-finding.

In tough economic times such as these, some politicians find the politics of race to be a convenient and effective way to divert voters' attention from their real problems. This tactic may work in the short term, but at a great cost to our social fabric. Many of the young people with whom we spoke, even young whites who hold conservative positions on matters of civil rights policy, expressed strong disapproval of David Duke, Jesse Helms, and other politicians who are willing to make the most polarizing questions of race relations the most salient part of their political discourse.

But the issue of blame in race relations goes beyond the excesses of political demagogues. One of the most troubling findings of this project is that too much of the dialogue about race in America has become mired in a vicious cycle of mutual resentment. Minority citizens believe with moral certainty that whites are responsible for the hostility between races; whites believe the same thing about minorities with equal certitude. This is an exercise in bitterness that is bound to have no affirmative or beneficial end.

Leaders in positions of moral authority, therefore, must help bring a halt to this vicious cycle and redirect the public debate to a more constructive level.

3. America's leaders must be frank in acknowledging that prejudice and racial tensions continue to be serious problems in the country today. Leaders who seek to redress these problems, however, also must admit that America has changed in fundamental ways during the past 30 years and that the challenges of American race relations in the 1990s are substantially different from those of the 1960s.

As this research shows, America still has far to go in overcoming the divisions that isolate or estrange us by race and ethnic group. Our nation ignores at its own peril the half of young blacks and the third of young Hispanics who believe that discrimination against them is the rule in our society, not just the occasional exception.

While serious problems remain, America's potential to solve those problems will be greater if it recognizes and builds on the genuine progress that has occurred in the past 30 years. The moral priority of fairness and the moral poverty of prejudice have become well-established in the hearts and minds of young Americans, even if the day-to-day reality often falls short of the ideal. Young Americans today have close personal relationships with people of other races and ethnic groups, in ways that simply did not happen decades ago. These and other changes represent indispensable opportunities from which to create further

progress, and they must be an integral consideration in charting new strategies for progress.

4. An important part of the task of improving race relations is to remind young Americans to rely on their experiences with people of other races and ethnic groups, and to reject the stupidity of stereotypes.

One of our great disappointments in talking with young Americans during the course of the research is the persistence of malicious stereotypes, even among people who have had very positive personal relationship with others of different races and ethnic groups. Young Americans know as an intellectual matter that stereotypes are wrong, and they are embarrassed when they recognize their own reflexive reliance on them. Young Americans, like their elders, need to be reminded to treat people as people, and not as types or categories.

5. Young Americans--whites, blacks, and Hispanics alike--accept a commonsense definition of what the formula for success ought to be in America: *education, plus hard work, plus a fair chance*. The degree to which the agenda for racial equity is a compelling one to a majority of young Americans in the 1990s depends on the degree to which it is defined around assuring "a fair chance" as an integral part of this formula.

Because of the significant changes that have occurred since the beginning of the modern civil rights movement, and because young Americans do not have a keen sense of historical context about the conditions that created the movement,

young Americans frequently view today's civil rights battles merely as abstract matters. Young whites, in particular, do not have a clear enough appreciation of what is at stake in these struggles, or a clear enough understanding of how these goals affect the lives of real people.

It is time to restate the case for social justice and equity to a new generation of Americans. The more this case is asserted in terms of both giving people a fair chance to succeed and flourish in our society and removing artificial barriers, the greater the likelihood that young Americans will rally to this mission.

6. Leaders for racial equity in America must treat "personal responsibility" and "hard work" as imperatives, even when opponents use these terms as code words in advocating their own agenda.

Some opponents of racial equity have adopted the strategy of arguing that this goal is somehow inconsistent with the value of personal responsibility. Proponents of racial justice, however, cannot afford to take this bait. Young Americans of all backgrounds give great weight to the importance of self-reliance and personal responsibility. Thus, leaders for racial equity can leave no doubt that their fundamental aim is to remove artificial barriers that unfairly stand in the way of those who are willing to work hard on their own behalf.

7. It is time--indeed, it is long past time--to summon young Americans to their better natures. A fundamental assignment of efforts to enhance racial and ethnic group relations in the 1990s must be to call upon this generation

to live up to its own ideals and to a higher standard of community and mutual respect.

By far, the most promising conclusion from this project is that young Americans, *when summoned to do so*, are prepared to hold America and themselves to high standards of fairness and understanding. As a matter of values and morality, they want America to be a nation in which everyone has a fair chance, in which we emphasize our common bonds and accept our differences, and in which we teach children to embrace the virtue of understanding and reject the vice of prejudice. Young people of all races and ethnic groups believe that an integrated society remains an important goal for the nation.

Based on our research and our conversations with many young Americans, we contend that this generation possesses genuinely felt ideals about what America should be. But we also contend that today's leaders have shortchanged this generation by failing to speak to these ideals and neglecting to nurture them. Most importantly, our leaders have failed at the most vital task of leadership: asking those whom they lead, and especially those who will become our next leaders, to strive toward and live up to their ideals.

APPENDIX

METHODOLOGY

The Sample

This study is based on a statistical sample that provides a representative cross section of the 15- to 24-year-old population of the United States, excluding Alaska and Hawaii. The study was conducted by telephone with 1,018 youths, 387 of whom are age 15 to 17 and 631 of whom are age 18 to 24, at 315 randomly determined localities throughout the country between October 8 and 21, 1991.

The sample is of a multistage cluster design using the latest population data available from the U.S. Census at each stage. In all, 315 clusters, each representing a maximum of four interviews, were apportioned among the 48 contiguous states in a systematic random fashion. The states were first stratified by population size, using 1990 Census data; then clusters were randomly assigned proportionate to each state's share of the total population.

In the second stage, counties within the states were ranked by population size, and each state's designated clusters were assigned to counties in a systematic random fashion proportionate to each county's share of the state's total population.

In the final stage, cities, towns, and other census subdivisions within each of the sample counties were stratified by population size using recent local population estimates to update the 1980 Census data. Clusters were then assigned to localities by random means proportionate to each locality's share of the total county population. All major cities were taken one step further--to specific census tracts--using the same procedure.

After each of the 315 clusters had been assigned to a specific locality, residential telephone numbers were secured from appropriate directories to serve as "seed" numbers for a random-digit dialing system. A constant was added repeatedly to change only the last two digits of each "seed" number, thus generating additional telephone numbers and bringing every telephone-equipped household, listed or unlisted, into the sample.

Telephone interviews were conducted with 1,018 randomly determined respondents at 315 locations throughout the country. After the interviews had been completed, a subsample of respondents was recontacted to verify that the data had been accurately recorded. The questionnaires were coded, keypunched, and tabulated on standard computer equipment, using Hart Research's in-house facilities.

The Black Oversample

In addition to the 1,018 interviews secured through the random-digit-dial sample described above, an additional 152 interviews with black youth age 15 to 24 were secured using a list sample purchased from Survey Sampling, Inc. This sample targeted black youth nationwide by using 1990 Census tracts that were 60% black or higher, overlaying this with an additional age predictor for 12- to 24-year-olds, and then securing telephone numbers from eligible tracts. Telephone interviewing for this segment of the study was conducted on December 15 and 16, 1991.

In reading the data, keep in mind that the results are subject to sampling error--i.e. the difference between the results obtained from the sample and those that would be obtained by surveying the entire population. The size of a possible sampling error varies with the sample size and to some extent with the percentage of respondents giving a particular answer. The following table sets forth the range of error in samples of different sizes and at different percentages of response:

RECOMMENDED ALLOWANCE FOR SAMPLING ERROR

	(At 95 in 100 confidence level) * ----- Sample Size -----						
	<u>1100</u>	<u>1000</u>	<u>800</u>	<u>600</u>	<u>400</u>	<u>200</u>	<u>100</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Percentages near 10	2	2	2	2	3	4	6
Percentages near 20	2	3	3	3	4	5	8
Percentages near 30	3	3	3	4	5	6	9
Percentages near 40	3	3	3	4	5	6	10
Percentages near 50	3	3	4	4	5	6	10
Percentages near 60	3	3	3	4	5	6	10
Percentages near 70	3	3	3	4	5	6	9
Percentages near 80	2	3	3	3	4	5	8
Percentages near 90	2	2	2	2	3	4	6

- * The chances are 95 in 100 that the actual sampling error is not larger than the figures shown. All ranges are plus or minus. Thus, were a sample of 1000 voters to split 50/50 on a question, the odds would be 95 in 100 that the true split in total population would not be greater than 53/47.

FILLED-IN QUESTIONNAIRE

PETER D. HART RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.
 1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
 Washington, DC 20009
 (202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1170 Respondents
 Date: October 8-21, 1991

FINAL

Study #3350
 Youth Social Values
 October 1991

48 Male
 52 Female
 [5]

AREA		TYPE	SAMPLE POINT			FORM	DATE	
								1991
[6]	[7]	[8]	[9]	[10]	[11]	[12]	[13]	[14]

I'm calling from Peter Hart Research Associates, the national public opinion polling firm. We are conducting a survey of young people throughout America about their attitudes and opinions on some important social issues. This important project is being done for research purposes only, and the names and answers of each individual will be kept completely confidential. Could you please tell me how many people age 15 to 24 live in this household and are home now?

HOW TO DETERMINE WHOM YOU ARE TO INTERVIEW IN THIS HOUSEHOLD:

- A. IF ONLY ONE PERSON BETWEEN AGE 15 AND 24 LIVES HERE, INTERVIEW THAT PERSON.
- B. IF MORE THAN ONE PERSON BETWEEN AGE 15 AND 24 LIVES HERE, INTERVIEW THE YOUNGEST PERSON WHO IS AT HOME, UNLESS QUOTA FOR AGE 15 TO 17 IS ALREADY FULFILLED.

1. What is your age?

	All Youth	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	
15 years old	9	8	9	8	[15]
16 years old	8	9	9	9	
17 years old	9	9	9	9	
18 years old	10	9	10	16	
19 years old	11	10	11	12	
20 years old	11	11	11	13	
21 years old	10	10	10	6	
22 years old	12	12	11	8	
23 years old	10	11	10	8	
24 years old	10	11	10	11	

2a. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction these days, or do you feel things are off on the wrong track?

	All Youth	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics	
Right direction	33	37	14	25	[16]
Wrong track	51	46	71	60	
Mixed (VOL)	13	13	14	13	
Not sure	3	4	1	2	

- 2b. When you think about the future of America, do you feel more upbeat and optimistic that America's best years as a country are still ahead of us, or do you feel more concerned and worried that America's best years might already be behind us?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Upbeat/optimistic/best years still ahead	37	42	27	28	[17]
Concerned/worried/best years might be behind us ..	54	48	66	65	
Some of both (VOL)	5	6	4	1	
Depends (VOL)	1	2	1	2	
Not sure	3	2	2	4	

3. Compared to when your parents were your age, do you think it's easier being a young person today or harder being a young person today?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Easier today	17	14	21	22	[18]
Harder today	77	80	73	68	
About the same/depends (VOL)	5	5	5	9	
Not sure	1	1	1	1	

- 4a. In America today, what do you feel is most important for getting ahead? (READ LIST, ROTATING ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. MAKE SURE RESPONDENT HEARS ENTIRE LIST BEFORE HE OR SHE GIVES AN ANSWER. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE AND RECORD BELOW UNDER 4a.)

	4a. Most Important	[19]	4b. Second Most Important	[20]
Luck				
All youth	1		3	
Whites	1		3	
Blacks	1		5	
Hispanics	3		1	
Family background				
All youth	8		12	
Whites	8		13	
Blacks	11		7	
Hispanics	12		13	
Hard work and individual effort				
All youth	30		31	
Whites	34		30	
Blacks	23		30	
Hispanics	14		40	
Your race				
All youth	1		3	
Whites	1		3	
Blacks	2		6	
Hispanics	2		3	
Education				
All youth	39		29	
Whites	38		30	
Blacks	38		28	
Hispanics	50		23	
Having good connections and knowing the right people				
All youth	16		15	
Whites	16		15	
Blacks	17		14	
Hispanics	17		15	
All equally important (VOL)				
All youth	3		-	
Whites	2		-	
Blacks	5		-	
Hispanics	1		-	
Other/none (VOL)				
All youth	1		1	
Whites	-		1	
Blacks	2		1	
Hispanics	-	SKIP TO Q.5.	1	
Not sure				
All youth	1		2	
Whites	-		2	
Blacks	1		1	
Hispanics	1		1	
No first choice				
All youth	NA		4	
Whites	NA		3	
Blacks	NA		8	
Hispanics	NA		3	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WITH A CHOICE IN Q.4a.)

- 4b. And what do you feel is the second most important quality for getting ahead? (READ REMAINING ITEMS. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER AND RECORD ABOVE UNDER 4b.)

(ASK EVERYONE.)

5. There has been a lot of talk lately about American values and the principles that are important to us as Americans. I'm going to read you some different values Americans might care about, and I'd like you to rate how important each one is to you personally, using a scale from 1 to 10. If a particular value is extremely important to you, pick a number closer to "10". If it is not really that important to you, pick a number closer to "1". You may select any number from 1 to 10, depending on how strongly you feel.

(MAKE SURE RESPONDENT UNDERSTANDS THAT "10" IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT AND "1" IS NOT IMPORTANT. READ EACH ITEM AND GET RATING. IF RESPONDENT CANNOT RATE AN ITEM, RECORD A ".". ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>Extremely Important (9+10)</u>				
	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
The importance of family	81	80	87	87	[21]
Personal liberty and freedom to do as you please	55	55	54	51	[22]
Patriotism and pride in our country	47	51	32	46	[23]
Respect for the rights of minorities	58	54	71	70	[24]
Emphasis on self-reliance and taking responsibility for yourself	75	73	84	77	[25]
Belief in God	68	65	85	74	[26]
Economic success and being well-off financially	35	29	52	47	[27]
Helping those who are less fortunate	53	49	65	64	[28]
Fair treatment for all, without prejudice or discrimination	79	77	86	85	[29]

6. I'm going to read you some goals for the country today and, for each one, I'd like you to tell me whether you think America is doing very well, fairly well, just okay, or not so well on that goal. (READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES.)

	<u>Very Well</u>	<u>Fairly Well</u>	<u>Just Okay</u>	<u>Not So Well</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Providing quality education for young people						[30]
All youth	8	38	25	29	-	
Whites	8	40	24	28	-	
Blacks	11	37	27	25	-	
Hispanics	11	30	28	31	-	
Promoting equal rights for women						[31]
All youth	15	52	20	12	1	
Whites	17	53	19	10	1	
Blacks	10	46	24	18	2	
Hispanics	14	50	22	14	-	
Dealing with poverty and homelessness						[32]
All youth	3	15	20	61	1	
Whites	3	14	22	60	1	
Blacks	1	13	17	69	-	
Hispanics	2	19	16	62	1	
Ensuring fair treatment of minorities						[33]
All youth	8	37	29	24	2	
Whites	11	38	28	21	2	
Blacks	3	32	32	33	-	
Hispanics	5	37	30	27	1	
Providing good job opportunities						[34]
All youth	7	40	24	28	1	
Whites	6	41	27	26	-	
Blacks	7	32	19	42	-	
Hispanics	9	38	22	31	-	
Protecting the environment						[35]
All youth	8	30	22	40	-	
Whites	7	30	22	41	-	
Blacks	8	28	24	40	-	
Hispanics	8	31	23	38	-	
Encouraging positive relations between people of different races						[36]
All youth	9	38	28	24	1	
Whites	9	40	28	22	1	
Blacks	7	31	27	34	1	
Hispanics	10	39	25	26	-	
Having high standards of honesty and morals in our society						[37]
All youth	6	27	24	42	1	
Whites	7	26	24	42	1	
Blacks	6	27	21	46	-	
Hispanics	5	30	23	40	2	

7. For each of the following groups, please tell me if you feel they are receiving too many special advantages, are receiving fair treatment, or are being discriminated against. How about (READ GROUP)--are they receiving special advantages, receiving fair treatment, or being discriminated against? (RECORD BELOW AND ASK FOR REMAINING GROUPS. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>Special Advantages</u>	<u>Fair Treatment</u>	<u>Discriminated Against</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Hispanics					[38]
All youth	6	52	34	8	
Whites	7	52	33	8	
Blacks	7	41	43	9	
Hispanics	4	56	33	7	
Senior citizens					[39]
All youth	14	56	28	2	
Whites	14	59	25	2	
Blacks	12	51	35	2	
Hispanics	14	45	38	3	
Blacks					[40]
All youth	10	50	37	3	
Whites	13	53	31	3	
Blacks	2	50	46	2	
Hispanics	5	39	52	4	
Whites					[41]
All youth	31	59	9	1	
Whites	28	61	10	1	
Blacks	48	47	4	1	
Hispanics	28	61	7	4	
Persons with disabilities					[42]
All youth	11	46	41	2	
Whites	11	46	41	2	
Blacks	12	40	44	4	
Hispanics	12	48	38	2	
Asian-Americans					[43]
All youth	9	57	26	8	
Whites	7	60	25	8	
Blacks	12	52	26	10	
Hispanics	12	48	32	8	
Women					[44]
All youth	7	70	22	1	
Whites	7	73	19	1	
Blacks	6	61	31	2	
Hispanics	5	70	22	3	

8. Please tell me which one of the following two statements comes closer to your point of view. (READ STATEMENTS SLOWLY.)

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Statement A. Most of the people who suffer from poverty are the victims of society's unfair treatment of disadvantaged individuals	45	44	55	39	[45]
Statement B. Most of the people who suffer from poverty haven't really tried hard enough to improve their own situation	45	46	36	55	
Some of both (VOL)	8	8	8	6	
Not sure	2	2	1	-	

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about race relations and the way blacks, Hispanics, whites, and other groups in the United States get along.

9a. Do you think race relations in the United States are generally good or generally bad?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Generally good	42	44	35	46	[46]
Generally bad	50	48	57	49	
Mixed (VOL)	7	6	7	5	
Not sure	1	2	1	-	

(FORM A)

9b. Why do you feel that way?

(PROBE:) From what you have seen and heard, how would you describe relations between people of different races in this country today?

Net Favorable Impressions	43%	Net Unfavorable Impressions	61%	
Compared to past years relations are good, things have improved, relations between races have come a long way	9	There is too much discrimination, hatred, anger	24	
Relations in my environment, where I live, are good, not exposed to racial tension	9	Because I see it in the newspapers, on TV	4	
From my own experience, I get along with everybody, I have never seen any trouble among my peers	8	Not only blacks are discriminated against, but Hispanics and Asians suffer too	4	[47-54]
Relations are improving, better every day	7	Blacks don't like whites and whites don't like blacks; this will continue, racism can't be stopped	3	
People are trying harder to stop discrimination, people are speaking up, coming together, trying to get along.	5	Blacks are involved in gangs; killings	3	
-----		Don't know, no response	7	

(BOTH FORMS)

9c. From what you've heard and seen, do you think that race relations in the United States are getting better or getting worse?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Getting better	55	60	43	45	[55]
Getting worse	34	30	46	42	
Some of both/staying the same (VOL)	9	7	9	12	
Not sure	2	3	2	1	

- 10a. In your own daily life, do you come into contact with people of other races and ethnic groups very often, fairly often, once in a while, or hardly ever?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Very often	56	52	65	65	[56]
Fairly often	24	26	19	21	
Once in a while	12	13	10	10	
Hardly ever	7	8	6	3	
Not sure	1	1	-	1	

- 10b. I'm going to read you a list of some places or situations where you might meet people. Thinking about your everyday life, please tell me in which of the following situations, if any, you come into contact with people of other races or ethnic groups regularly--that is, at least once or twice a week. (READ LIST. ACCEPT AS MANY ANSWERS AS RESPONDENT GIVES.)

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
At school	62	61	61	72	[57]
In your job	54	51	57	60	>
In sports activities	42	42	39	46	
In your church or synagogue	32	29	32	46	
Around your neighborhood	47	43	49	63	
During social activities or get-togethers	58	56	57	73	
None	2	3	1	1	
Not sure	1	1	-	-	

- 10c. Would you say you have close personal friendships with people of different races? (IF "YES," ASK:) About how many people is that--one or two, a few, or several?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
YES					[58]
One or two	9	9	9	9	
A few	22	24	18	18	
Several	40	37	45	54	
Not sure how many	5	3	3	10	
NO	24	27	25	8	
NOT SURE/REFUSED	-	-	-	1	

- 11a. Generally speaking, from your experience, would you say that people of different races and ethnic groups tend to feel pretty comfortable dealing with each other, or tend to feel uneasy dealing with each other?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Feel pretty comfortable	53	54	44	59	[59]
Feel uneasy	39	39	47	34	
In between (VOL)	6	6	8	5	
Not sure	2	1	1	2	

- 11b. And generally speaking, would you say that white people tend to feel pretty comfortable dealing with black people, or tend to feel uneasy dealing with blacks?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Feel pretty comfortable	35	39	27	28	[60]
Feel uneasy	55	53	62	60	
In between (VOL)	7	6	10	5	
Not sure	3	2	1	7	

- 11c. And would you say that black people tend to feel pretty comfortable dealing with white people, or tend to feel uneasy dealing with whites?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Feel pretty comfortable	36	37	40	32	[61]
Feel uneasy	55	54	52	59	
In between (VOL)	5	5	8	5	
Not sure	4	4	-	4	

12. I'd like to read you some situations in which you might be with a person of a different race. For each one, please tell me whether you would tend to feel pretty comfortable or would tend to feel uneasy being with a person of a different race.

(FOR EACH ITEM BELOW, ASK:) Would you feel pretty comfortable or feel uneasy (READ ITEM)? (START AT THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>Feel Pretty Comfortable</u>	<u>Feel Uneasy</u>	<u>In Between/ Depends (VOL)</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Being roommates with someone of a different race					[62]
All youth	81	14	4	1	
Whites	79	16	4	1	
Blacks	85	11	3	1	
Hispanics	84	10	5	1	
Working for someone of a different race					[63]
All youth	93	5	2	-	
Whites	93	5	2	-	
Blacks	92	6	2	-	
Hispanics	93	5	2	-	
Dating someone of a different race					[64]
All youth	43	51	4	2	
Whites	34	61	4	1	
Blacks	61	34	3	2	
Hispanics	69	25	4	2	
Visiting someone of a different race at his or her home					[65]
All youth	85	13	2	-	
Whites	88	11	1	-	
Blacks	74	21	5	-	
Hispanics	89	9	2	-	

13. Who do you think tends to feel more comfortable dealing with people of other racial and ethnic groups: you, or your parents--or do you think you and your parents are about the same on this?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Respondent	43	45	30	41	[66]
Parents	9	7	13	11	
About the same	47	47	57	48	
Not sure	1	1	-	-	

14. Have you personally ever been a victim of racial or ethnic discrimination?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Yes	25	18	41	36	[67]
No	74	81	58	62	
Not sure/refused	1	1	1	2	

- 15a. Do you think there are a lot of differences, some differences, or no real differences between black people and white people in this country in terms of their personal values and beliefs?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>		
A lot of differences . . .	15	12	20	19	CONTINUE	[68]
Some differences . . .	32	34	30	31		
No real differences . . .	51	53	48	49	SKIP TO	
Not sure/refused . . .	2	1	2	1	Q.16a.	

- 15b. Why do you feel that way? (PROBE:) What are some of the differences between black people and white people in terms of personal values and beliefs? (BE SURE TO INDICATE WHICH RACE EACH COMMENT REFERS TO.)

Blacks are more spiritual, have stronger religious beliefs	22%	
Blacks and whites have different priorities	15	
Blacks and whites have different upbringing, background	14	
Whites take fair treatment for granted, are used to being treated fairly;	8	[69-72]
whites have it easy	7	
Blacks and whites have different cultures, different values	7	
Don't know, no response	10	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

- 16a. Compared to other goals involving race relations in America, how important do you feel it is to have more racial integration so that people of different races live, go to school, and work more closely with each other--very important, fairly important, just somewhat important, or not that important?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Very important	56	51	71	72	[73]
Fairly important	28	31	16	20	
Just somewhat important	8	8	7	5	
Not that important	7	8	6	2	
Not sure	1	2	-	1	

- 16b. Do you think racial integration is something that could really happen in America, or do you think it is pretty unlikely to happen?

	<u>All Youths</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Could happen	62	62	57	66	[74]
Unlikely to happen	33	32	36	28	
Some of both/depends (VOL)	3	4	4	4	
Not sure	2	2	3	2	

17. I'm going to read you some statements that some people have made and, for each one, I'd like you to tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with that statement. (READ EACH STATEMENT SLOWLY AND REPEAT CHOICES.)

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly	Not Sure	
Racial and ethnic discrimination was a problem in the past, but it isn't really a serious problem anymore						[75]
All youth	11	27	33	28	1	
Whites	11	30	35	23	1	
Blacks	16	21	22	41	-	
Hispanics	8	28	29	33	2	
Television and movies do a good job of portraying a positive image of black people and other minorities						[76]
All youth	15	32	27	24	2	
Whites	17	32	28	21	2	
Blacks	13	27	24	34	2	
Hispanics	17	27	25	28	3	
It's generally best if the people of each race keep to themselves						[77]
All youth	4	8	21	66	1	
Whites	4	7	21	67	1	
Blacks	3	8	22	66	1	
Hispanics	3	14	20	62	1	
White people would not be safe going into most black neighborhoods						[78]
All youths	21	32	29	15	3	
Whites	23	33	30	12	2	
Blacks	15	21	34	28	2	
Hispanics	20	33	24	17	6	
There is nothing wrong with people of different races dating each other						[79]
All youths	44	29	12	13	2	
Whites	38	28	15	17	2	
Blacks	62	25	6	5	2	
Hispanics	57	26	9	5	3	
Blacks have caused many of their own problems, but make excuses by blaming them on discrimination instead						[80]
All youths	18	35	27	17	3	
Whites	19	36	28	14	3	
Blacks	19	26	24	28	3	
Hispanics	14	36	27	19	4	
Black people would not be safe going into most white neighborhoods						[81]
All youths	6	21	38	33	2	
Whites	5	18	40	36	1	
Blacks	14	27	30	27	2	
Hispanics	7	21	38	30	4	
It's okay to have a country where the races are basically separate from one another, as long as they all have equal opportunities						[82]
All youths	14	27	23	34	2	
Whites	13	29	24	32	2	
Blacks	17	19	19	44	1	
Hispanics	14	19	22	43	2	
Racial and ethnic minorities still face a lot of discrimination in our society						[83]
All youths	37	45	13	4	1	
Whites	34	47	14	4	1	
Blacks	51	31	12	5	1	
Hispanics	38	44	11	5	2	

(FORM A)

18. On the average, black people in our society tend to be worse off in terms of jobs, income, and housing. Why do you think this is so?

(PROBE:) What reasons can you think of that might explain this situation?

This is a white man's world; too much racism, discrimination, prejudice	29%	
Blacks are less educated, ignorant, drop out of school	19	
Blacks are lazy, no motivation to look for jobs	10	
Lack of opportunities for better education for blacks	6	[84-87]
Blacks are poor, born into poverty; cycle repeats itself	6	
Blacks have no self-esteem, no aspirations	5	
Don't know, no response	17	

(FORM B)

18. On the average, Hispanic people in our society tend to be worse off in terms of jobs, income, and housing. Why do you think this is so?

(PROBE:) What reasons can you think of that might explain this situation?

Hispanics are less educated, ignorant	19%	
Hispanics don't speak the language, don't understand	14	
Hispanics face racism, discrimination, unfair treatment, prejudice	13	
Hispanics are too poor, have no money	5	[88-91]
Illegal aliens, no green cards	5	
Don't know, no response	21	

(FORM A)

- 19a. In your opinion, should colleges and universities give special preference to minority students in order to increase minority enrollment?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Yes	34	26	52	56	[92]
No	54	64	37	35	
Depends (VOL)	10	9	7	6	
Not sure	2	1	4	3	

- 19b. And should employers give special preference to minority job applicants in order to increase the number of minority employees?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Yes	23	15	40	41	[93]
No	71	78	50	57	
Depends (VOL)	5	5	9	2	
Not sure	1	2	1	-	

(FORM B)

- 19a. In your opinion, should colleges and universities give special consideration to minority students in order to increase minority enrollment?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Yes	48	40	74	57	[94]
No	44	51	20	35	
Depends (VOL)	6	7	3	8	
Not sure	2	2	3	-	

- 19b. And should employers give special consideration to minority job applicants in order to increase the number of minority employees?

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Yes	35	27	60	43	[95]
No	57	65	29	46	
Depends (VOL)	6	5	9	9	
Not sure	2	3	2	2	

(BOTH FORMS)

20. Now I'm going to read you some types of problems that might occur, and I'd like you to tell me which one is more likely to happen in our society today. (READ ITEMS SLOWLY. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Qualified minorities are denied scholarships, jobs, and promotions because of racial prejudice	42	34	68	52	[96]
Qualified whites lose out on scholarships, jobs, and promotions because minorities get special preference	42	49	19	29	
Both equal (VOL)	8	9	6	8	
Neither (VOL)	4	4	4	7	
Not sure	4	4	3	4	

21. Here are some things that can be done to deal with racial problems in our society. For each one, please tell me whether you feel it would help a lot, would help a little, would not make much difference, or would go too far and be a step in the wrong direction. (READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES.)

	Help A <u>Lot</u>	Help A <u>Little</u>	Not Make Much Differ- <u>ence</u>	Go Too Far/Step In The Wrong <u>Direction</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Give more scholarships and financial aid to minority students to make it easier for them to get an education						[97]
All youth	37	36	11	15	1	
Whites	28	41	12	18	1	
Blacks	65	19	9	6	1	
Hispanics	54	31	8	6	1	
Make it harder for people to stay on welfare						[98]
All youth	36	27	16	17	4	
Whites	35	29	14	18	4	
Blacks	35	23	18	21	3	
Hispanics	36	25	21	14	4	
Encourage more integration of the public schools						[99]
All youth	46	32	15	5	2	
Whites	40	36	16	6	2	
Blacks	58	25	11	4	2	
Hispanics	58	25	12	3	2	
Require companies to hire and promote adequate numbers of minorities						[100]
All youth	24	34	20	20	2	
Whites	16	37	22	23	2	
Blacks	51	29	13	5	2	
Hispanics	34	31	14	17	4	
Require all students to take classes in the history and culture of various minority groups						[101]
All youth	41	35	15	8	1	
Whites	35	38	16	10	1	
Blacks	62	25	10	2	1	
Hispanics	48	31	19	2	-	
Punish students who use racial slurs in school						[102]
All youth	32	28	23	16	1	
Whites	29	28	24	18	1	
Blacks	40	26	23	11	-	
Hispanics	33	32	20	13	2	
Get people to take more responsibility for themselves, rather than blaming others for their problems						[103]
All youth	77	17	3	2	1	
Whites	76	18	3	2	1	
Blacks	82	10	6	2	-	
Hispanics	79	16	3	2	-	

22. Getting to the end of the survey, I'd like to ask a brief question. Aside from your parents, which one or two of the following people or things would you say have had the greatest influence on your own image of people of different races? (READ LIST SLOWLY, ROTATING ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES.)

	<u>All Youth</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Hispanics</u>	
Your friends	42	44	27	40	[104]
TV shows	7	7	5	9	>
Your teachers	11	10	20	14	
 Your own experiences	 60	 64	 55	 52	
The news on TV or in newspapers	17	16	19	20	
 All equal (VOL)	 1	 1	 3	 -	
Other (VOL--WRITE IN:)	-	1	1	-	
None (VOL)	1	-	2	1	
Not sure	-	-	-	1	

(FORM B)

23. Finally, what are the most important things we should be doing to reduce racial tensions and promote better relations between races in America?

(PROBE:) If someone asked you to come up with ideas for solving racial problems in this country, what advice would you offer?

No special treatment, treat everyone equally	20%	
Understand we are alike; don't look at color of skin but at what is inside; don't judge because of skin color	18	
Educated people start with children. Don't teach them how to be prejudiced; teach them to be understanding of different people, different cultures	15	
Give everybody a fair chance in schools, integrate schools	11	[105-108]
More socializing among races, get together, be more friendly	7	
Don't know, no response	18	

FACTUALS: These last few questions are for statistical purposes only.

- F1a. Are you currently a student? (IF "YES," ASK:) What grade or year of school are you in?

Currently a student

8th grade or below	-	ASK F1b, THEN SKIP TO F2.	[109]
9th grade	3		
10th grade	7		
11th grade	9		
12th grade	13		
Technical/vocational school	2	SKIP TO F2.	
1st or 2nd year of college	14		
3rd or 4th year of college	11		
Graduate school	1		
<u>Not currently a student</u>	39	SKIP TO F1c.	
<u>Not sure/refused</u>	1		

F1b. Do you plan to attend college?

	All Youth	
Yes, plan to attend college	74	[110]
No, do not plan to attend college	10	
Not sure	16	

F1c. What is the last grade or year of school that you have completed?

	All Youth	
8th grade or below	2	[111]
9th grade	3	
10th grade	5	
11th grade	6	
12th grade	44	
Technical/vocational school ..	5	
1st or 2nd year of college ..	19	
3rd or 4th year of college ..	12	
Graduate school	2	
Not sure/refused	2	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

F2. Are you currently employed in a paying job?

	All Youth	
Yes, employed	60	[112]
No, not employed	39	
Not sure/refused	1	

F3a. What type of work does your father do? (WRITE RESPONSE IN SPACE BELOW. IF "UNEMPLOYED," GET USUAL OCCUPATION.)

High-level professional ..	9	[113]	Farmer/rancher	2	[114]
Middle-level professional ..	7		Homemaker	-	
Executive, manager	5		Retiree	6	
Sales, proprietor	9		Student	-	
White collar worker	5		Other (DESCRIBE BELOW)		
			Parent is deceased	5	
Skilled laborer	43		Not sure/refused	6	
Semi- and unskilled laborer ..	3				

JOB DESCRIPTION: _____

F3b. And what type of work does your mother do? (WRITE RESPONSE IN SPACE BELOW. IF "UNEMPLOYED," GET USUAL OCCUPATION.)

High-level professional ..	3	[115]	Farmer/rancher	1	[116]
Middle-level professional ..	17		Homemaker	20	
Executive, manager	3		Retiree	4	
Sales, proprietor	7		Student	1	
White collar worker	19		Other (DESCRIBE BELOW)		
			Parent is deceased	2	
Skilled laborer	16		Not sure/refused	2	
Semi- and unskilled laborer ..	5				

JOB DESCRIPTION: _____

F4. Has either of your parents attended college? (IF "YES," ASK:) Is that your mother, your father, or both?

Mother attended college	13	[117]
Father attended college	15	
Both parents attended college	26	
Neither parent attended college	43	
Not sure/refused	3	

F5. In terms of the way you usually think about social and political issues, would you say you tend to be liberal, middle of the road, or conservative?

Liberal	29	[118]
Middle of the road	43	
Conservative	24	
Not sure	4	

F6. How would you describe your overall point of view in terms of the political parties? Would you say you are mostly Democratic, leaning Democratic, completely Independent, leaning Republican, or mostly Republican?

Mostly Democratic	17	Leaning Republican	14	[119]
Leaning Democratic	13	Mostly Republican	17	
Completely Independent ..	31	Not sure	8	

F7. What is the best way to describe the area in which you live--a city, a suburb, a small town, or a rural area?

City	32	Rural area	15	[120]
Suburb	21	Not sure	1	
Small town	31			

F8. What is your religion?

Protestant	32	[121]
Catholic	29	
Jewish	2	
Other (VOL)	27	
None	9	
Refused	1	

F9. Compared to other American families, would you say your family income is far below average, slightly below average, just about average, slightly above average, or far above average? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, what would be your best guess?

Far below average	4	[122]
Slightly below average	16	
Just about average	44	
Slightly above average	31	
Far above average	4	
Not sure/refused	1	

F10. Finally, are you, or is any member of your family, of Hispanic or Spanish-speaking origin?

(IF "NO," ASK:) For statistical purposes only, could you please tell me what is your race--white, black, Asian, or something else?

Hispanic	12	Asian	3	[123]
White	70	Other	1	
Black	14	Refused	-	

THE FOCUS GROUPS

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS--WORKING OUTLINE

1. Looking ahead to 10 years from now, what are some of your personal goals? What are some of the things you are hoping for in your life as you look ahead?

Are you more optimistic or more pessimistic about whether you will be able to achieve your goals?

2. Give me a word or phrase that sums up your feelings about the way things are going in America. Why?

3. What are some of the issues or problems facing the country that personally concern you?

What are some of the ways the country has been changing for the better? What positive trends do you think have happened in the last 10 or 20 years?

And what are some of the negative trends? What are some of the things you hear about that make you say, "The country's going in the wrong direction"?

4. Compared to when your parents were your age, do you think it's easier or harder being a young person today? Why?

5. What are the most important things for getting ahead in America today? What does it take to get ahead?

Do you agree or disagree that if you work hard and do your best, you will be able to succeed and get ahead? Why?

6. Now I'd like to ask you some questions about race relations and the way people of different races get along in this country.

Do you think race relations in the U.S. are generally good or generally bad these days?

Why do you feel that way? Give me some examples.

7. Compared to five years ago, do you think race relations in America have gotten better or worse?
8. What are some of the biggest problems in terms of race relations right now? What are the biggest changes or improvements that need to be made?
9. From your personal experience, do you think blacks and whites tend to feel pretty comfortable dealing with each other, or tend to feel uneasy dealing with each other?

Why do you think this is?

What are some of the things that make blacks feel uncomfortable with whites? And what are some of the things that make whites feel uncomfortable with blacks?

10. Do you personally feel comfortable or uneasy with blacks?

How often do you come into contact with people of different races?

Do you have close relationships with people of different races? Tell me about them.

11. Who do you think tends to be more comfortable dealing with people of different races, you or your parents? Why do you think this is?
12. In terms of beliefs and moral values, what are some of the things most black people and most white people have in common?

What differences do you see between blacks and whites in their beliefs and moral values?

13. Do you think most blacks have a positive or a negative image of whites?
- What's the biggest misconception blacks have about whites?

14. Do you think most whites have a positive or a negative image of blacks?
What's the biggest misconception whites have about blacks?
15. Where do you think these misconceptions come from?
16. Have you ever heard or seen white people dealing with blacks in a way that made you feel bad or uncomfortable? What happened?
17. On the average, blacks people in our society tend to be worse off than whites in terms of jobs, income, and housing. Why do you think this is?
Do you think it's mainly because blacks don't do enough to help themselves, or mainly because society treats them unfairly?
18. What, if anything, needs to happen in order for blacks to achieve the same kinds of jobs, income, and housing as most whites have?
19. How well do you think our political leaders are dealing with race relations?
How about George Bush? Do you feel that he is helping make things better or that he's having more of a negative effect on race relations? Why?
If you had a chance to talk to George Bush, what advice would you give him about dealing with race relations? What should he be doing to help?
20. More generally, what are the most important things we need to be doing as a country to deal with the problems of race relations?
What should our goals be?
How do we reach them?

OVERVIEW OF THE PARTICIPANTS

GROUP ONE								
NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	MOTHER'S OCCUPATION	NAME OF SCHOOL/YEAR	CURRENTLY EMPLOYED/WHAT KIND OF WORK	PARTY IDENTIFICATION	REGISTERED TO VOTE/WHOM DID YOU VOTE FOR IN 1990 U.S. SENATE ELECTION	TWO MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES
Catherine	21	Public works	Interior designer	N.C. State/Junior	No	Democrats	Yes/Harvey Gantt	AIDS Illegal drugs
Dan	23	-	Staff manager of restaurant	N.C. State/Senior	Yes/Cook/Bartender	Republicans	Yes/Harvey Gantt	Recession AIDS
Donna	20	-	Hairstylist	Louisburg College/ Sophomore	Yes/Clerk	Republicans	No	Environmental issues
Jill	21	Trainman	Teacher	Meredith College/ Senior	Yes/Office assistant	Democrats	Yes/Harvey Gantt	Socialized insurance Recession
John	18	Engineer	Administrative	N.C. State	No	Republicans	No	-
Jonathan	20	Accountant	Homemaker	N.C. State/Junior	No	Republicans	Yes/Jesse Helms	Abortion
Laura	22	Engineer	Substitute teacher	Meredith College/ Senior	Yes/Bank teller/ Lab assistant	Republicans	Yes/Jesse Helms	Health care Economy
Lisa	23	Maintenance supervisor	Furniture upholstering	-	Yes/Recruiting assistant at bank	Republicans	Yes/Jesse Helms	Drugs Economy
Mark	21	Works for IBM	Works for IBM	N.C. State/Junior	Yes/Construction/ Host	Republicans	Yes/Jesse Helms	Pollution Education and technology
Robbie	19	Salesman	Secretary	N.C. State/Sophomore	Yes/Fruit stand	Democrats	No	Rape Unemployment
Ron	24	Salesman	Receptionist	N.C. State/Senior	Yes/Freelance art	Neither	No	
Vanessa	21	Financial consultant	Teacher	Meredith College/ Senior	Yes/Distribution coordinator	Democrats	No	Economic policy Health care costs

OVERVIEW OF THE PARTICIPANTS

GROUP TWO								
NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	MOTHER'S OCCUPATION	IF NOT IN SCHOOL LAST YEAR COMPLETED	CURRENTLY EMPLOYED/ WHAT KIND OF WORK	PARTY IDENTIFICATION	REGISTERED TO VOTE/ WHOM DID YOU VOTE FOR IN 1990 U.S. SENATE ELECTION	TWO MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES
Bradley	19	Maintenance	Nurse	Freshman year in college	No	Neither	No	AIDS Crime
Brant	19	Computer programmer	Clerk	High school	Yes/Assistant manager	Republicans	No	Recession Drugs
Christine	22	Engineer	Photography	High school graduate	Yes/Secretary	Not sure	No	Taxes
Chuck	23	Locomotive engineer	CPA	High school graduate	Yes/Tree trimmer	Neither	Yes/Harvey Gantt	Taxes
Daniel	24	Security guard	Cafe manager	High school graduate	Yes/Receiving clerk	Neither	No	Unemployment Homeless
Erick	19	Sales	X-Ray technician	High school graduate	Yes/Security	Neither	Yes/Harvey Gantt	Tax problems
Julia	22	Marketing consultant	Ceramic designer	-	Yes/Insurance agent	Republicans	Yes/Jesse Helms	Crime Unemployment
Marc	24	-	-	11th grade	Yes/Electrician	Republicans	No	AIDS Haitians
Rachel	24	CEO	Librarian	Some vocational school	Yes/Instructor--airline reservations	Democrats	Yes/Did not vote in this election	Economy Unemployed
Stephanie	22	Builder	Decorator	High school	Yes/Bank teller	Democrats	Yes/Harvey Gantt	Abortion Economy
Susan	23	Computer programmer	Works at IBM	High school graduate	Yes/Restaurant server	Republicans	No	Homeless Iraq
Vikki	20	Immigration Inspector	Office manager	High school graduate	Yes/Operations assistant	Not sure	Yes/Did not vote in this election	Recession Desert Storm war

THE ONE-ON-ONE INTERVIEWS

PETER D. HART RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviewer: _____
City/Town: _____
Date: _____
Approximate Length Of Interview: _____
Grade: _____

FINAL

Study #3350
Youth Social Values
One-on-one Interviews

1	Male
2	Female
[5]	

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm glad you could meet with me today. I'm doing this interview with you for Peter Hart Research Associates, which is a well-known public opinion research firm located in Washington, D.C.

As part of a large project they are doing on the attitudes and opinions of young people today, they are conducting these face-to-face interviews all over the country.

You've probably noticed that I have a tape recorder running. This is simply so I can concentrate on what you are saying, and so I don't have to ask you to wait while I write everything down. Though I will be writing down some of your answers, I am using this questionnaire just to be sure I cover all the topics they want me to ask you about.

One thing I want to emphasize before we begin is that there are no right or wrong answers to these questions, because we will be asking about your own perceptions and feelings. We promise not to reveal your name and individual opinions unless you give us permission to do so.

Let's start by having you tell me a little about yourself.

1a. How old are you?

Do you have any brothers or sisters? Are they younger or older than you? What kind of work do your mother and father do?

1b. If you were to picture your life five or ten years from now, what would it be like?

(PROBE FOR DETAILS SUCH AS EDUCATION, JOB OR CAREER, FAMILY, SOCIAL ACTIVITIES, ETC.)

- 2a. Compared to when your parents were your age, do you think it's easier being a young person today or harder being a young person today?

Easier today	1	[5]
Harder today	2	
About the same/depends (VOL)	3	
Not sure	4	

Why do you feel that way? What are some of the things that make it easier? How do you have it better than your parents did when they were your age?

What are some of the special pressures that young people face today? What are some of the things that make it harder to be a young person now?

- 2b. Do you agree or disagree that, in our country, if you work hard and do your best, you will be able to succeed and get ahead? (PROBE FOR EXPLANATION.)

Agree	1	[7]
Disagree	2	
Depends (VOL)	3	
Not sure	4	

- 3a. Generally speaking, do you think things in America are going in the right direction these days, or do you feel things are pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

Right direction	1	[8]
Wrong track	2	
Mixed (VOL)	3	
Not sure	4	

Why do you say that?

- 3b. What do you feel are the most important issues or problems facing our country today?

- 4a. Now I'd like to focus on the specific subject of race relations. Do you think race relations in the United States are generally good or generally bad these days?

Generally good	1	[9]
Generally bad	2	
Some of both/mixed (VOL)	3	
Not sure	4	

Why do you feel that way? (PROBE:) From what you have seen and heard, how would you describe relations between people of different races in our country today?

- 4b. And would you say that relations between races are generally getting better or getting worse?

Getting better	1	[10]
Getting worse	2	
Some of both/staying the same (VOL)	3	
Not sure	4	

What examples have you seen that make you believe race relations are (getting better/getting worse)?

- 5a. Suppose that three people are applying for the same job--one is white, one is black, and one is Hispanic-- and they are pretty much equally qualified for the job. Who do you think has the best chance of being hired?

White person	1	[11]
Black person	2	
Hispanic person	3	
Depends (VOL)	4	
All equal (VOL)	5	
Not sure	6	

Why do you say that?

- 5b. According to some people, we've gone overboard and given too many special advantages to minority groups at the expense of white people. Others believe we're not doing enough to help minorities. Which do you think is the case?

Too many special advantages	1	[12]
Not doing enough	2	
Some of both (VOL)	3	
Not sure	4	

Are there any specific groups of people in America who are treated unfairly?

And on the other hand, are there any groups who seem to receive too many special advantages?

- 6a. On the average, black people in our society tend to be worse off in terms of jobs, income, and housing. Why do you think that is?
- 6b. Do you think this is mainly because black people don't do enough to help themselves, or mainly because society treats them unfairly?
- 6c. What, if anything, needs to happen in order for blacks to achieve the same kind of jobs, income, and housing as most whites have?
- 7a. On the average, Hispanic people in our society tend to be worse off in terms of jobs, income, and housing. Why do you think that is?
- 7b. Do you think this is mainly because Hispanic people don't do enough to help themselves, or mainly because society treats them unfairly?
- 7c. What, if anything, needs to happen in order for Hispanics to achieve the same kind of jobs, income, and housing as most whites have?
8. Some people say that society should give special consideration and help to blacks and other minorities to make up for past discrimination and inequalities, and to make sure they have a fair chance to get ahead later in life. When it comes to educational issues such as college admissions and financial aid, how do you feel about giving special considerations to minorities that are not necessarily given to whites?
9. In your daily life, how often do you have contact with people of other races?
What are those interactions like? Do you have any close personal friends of a different race?

- 10a. Let's talk about the way whites, blacks, Hispanics, and other minorities get along with one another at the personal level. Do you think that most whites feel comfortable interacting with blacks in our society? (PROBE FOR REASONS AND EXAMPLES ON 10a-d.)

Yes	1	[13]
No	2	
Depends (VOL)	3	
Not sure	4	

- 10b. And do you think most whites are comfortable interacting with Hispanics?

Yes	1	[14]
No	2	
Depends (VOL)	3	
Not sure	4	

- 10c. Do you think most blacks feel comfortable with whites?

Yes	1	[15]
No	2	
Depends (VOL)	3	
Not sure	4	

- 10d. And what about Hispanics? Do you think most Hispanics are comfortable dealing with whites?

Yes	1	[16]
No	2	
Depends (VOL)	3	
Not sure	4	

- 11a. Are there certain beliefs and moral values that most whites, blacks, and other minorities share or have in common?

What similarities do you see in the basic values or things that are most important to the people of different races and ethnic groups in our society?

- 11b. And are there any basic differences between white people and black people or other minorities when it comes to the beliefs and values each group considers important?

12. **(FOR WHITE RESPONDENTS:)** In America, some white people treat blacks and other minority groups differently than they treat other whites. Is there something about people from minority groups that might cause whites to treat them differently?

(FOR WHITE RESPONDENTS:) And when you think about your own attitudes toward blacks and other minorities, is there anything in particular that makes you react to people from other races differently from the way you react to other whites?

12. **(FOR BLACK/HISPANIC/ASIAN RESPONDENTS:)** In America, some white people treat blacks and other minority groups differently than they treat other whites. Is there something about the people from your minority group that might cause whites to treat them differently?

(FOR BLACK/HISPANIC/ASIAN RESPONDENTS:) And when you think about white people's attitudes toward you personally, is there anything in particular that you think makes them react to you differently from the way they react to other whites?

13. Sometimes, talking about the issue of race relations can be difficult, but thinking about your family, could you please tell me how similar or different you and your parents are when it comes to your attitudes toward people of other races and ethnic backgrounds?

(WAIT FOR RESPONSE, THEN PROBE FOR FULL ELABORATIONS:) In what ways are your attitudes similar to and different from your parents' attitudes?

14a. Can you recall any specific incidents in your life that would give a us sense of how race relations are going in this country?

14b. Have you ever heard or seen white people dealing with black people in a way that makes you feel bad or uncomfortable?

Yes	1	[17]
No	2	
Not sure	3	

14c. Have you ever heard or seen black people dealing with white people in a way that makes you feel bad or uncomfortable?

Yes	1	[18]
No	2	
Not sure	3	

15. (FOR WHITE RESPONDENTS:) From what you know, do you think blacks have a mostly positive or a mostly negative image of whites?

Mostly positive	1	[19]
Mostly negative	2	
In between (VOL)	3	
Not sure	4	

15. (FOR BLACK/HISPANIC/ASIAN RESPONDENTS:) From what you know, do you think whites have a mostly positive or a mostly negative image of (blacks/Hispanics/Asians)?

Mostly positive	1	[20]
Mostly negative	2	
In between (VOL)	3	
Not sure	4	

16a. What do you feel white people could be doing to help improve race relations in America?

16b. And what should black people be doing to help with this problem?

16c. Is there anything you think you as an individual could do to improve relations between races?

17a. Let me read you one particular goal that some people have said is a good idea for helping to improve race relations in America: **Having more integration so that people of different races live, go to school, and work more closely with each other.** How important do you feel integration is as a goal?

17b. Do you think it's possible to achieve greater integration in the United States? Why do you feel that way?

What are some of the good things that would be accomplished by more integration?

Is there a bad side to having more integration in our country?

18. **(FOR WHITE RESPONDENTS:)** If you had a chance to talk with a group of black people, what would you like to ask them or learn about them?

18. **(FOR BLACK/HISPANIC/ASIAN RESPONDENTS:)** What are the most important messages that you would like white people to hear and understand about (black/Hispanic/Asian) people?

19. Finally, if you had a chance to talk to the President and other leaders in this country, what advice would you give them on the issue of race relations?

(PROBE:) What do you think our political leaders should be doing or saying to help improve the way we deal with racial issues?

PETER D. HART RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

RESPONDENT INFORMATION SHEET

Name: _____

Address: _____

Phone Number:

AREA CODE									
[21]	[22]	[23]	[24]	[25]	[26]	[27]	[28]	[29]	[30]

1. How old are you? _____ [31] [32]

2a. Are you currently a student?

Yes 1 [33]
No 2

2b. What grade or year of school are you currently in, OR IF YOU'RE NOT CURRENTLY A STUDENT, what is the last grade or year of school that you have completed?

8th grade or below 1 [34]
9th grade 2
10th grade 3
11th grade 4
12th grade 5
Technical/vocational school 6
1st or 2nd year of college 7
3rd or 4th year of college 8
Graduate school 9

3. Are you currently employed in a paying job?

Yes, full-time 1 [35]
Yes, part-time 2
No, not employed 3

4. What type of work does your father do?

_____ [36] [37]

5. And what type of work does your mother do?

_____ [38] [39]

6. What is your race or ethnic background?

White 1 Asian 4 [40]
Black 2 Other 5
Hispanic 3

The overall results of this research project will be released soon as part of a major study of attitudes among young Americans. Would it be okay if someone contacted you as part of the media coverage of this project?

Yes, it's okay to contact me 1 [41]
No, I do not want to be contacted 2

Signed: _____

OVERVIEW OF THE ONE-ON-ONE RESPONDENTS

NAME	CITY, STATE	AGE	RACIAL/ ETHNIC BACKGROUND	EDUCATION	EMPLOYMENT
Luke	Pleasant Hill, MO	18	White	12th Grade	Part-time
Angie	Blue Springs, MO	16	White	10th Grade	None
Michael	San Jose, CA	24	Hispanic	Completed 12th Grade	Full-time
Joe	San Jose, CA	16	Hispanic	11th Grade	None
Gabriela	San Jose, CA	16	Hispanic	11th Grade	None
Gabriel	San Antonio, TX	19	Hispanic	1st/2nd Year College	None
Mariana	San Antonio, TX	19	Hispanic	1st/2nd Year College	Part-time
Clyde	Austin, TX	22	Black	3rd/4th Year College	None
Leeanne	Arlington, MA	20	White	3rd/4th Year College	Part-time
Eric	Reading, MA	22	White	3rd/4th Year College	Part-time
Julie	Wauwatosa, WI	21	White	12th Grade	Full-time
Brian	Waukesha, WI	17	White	12th Grade	Part-time
Daniel	Madison, WI	20	White	3rd/4th Year College	None
Sarah	Madison, WI	19	White	1st/2nd Year College	None
Marcus	Portland, OR	16	American Indian	11th Grade	Part-time
Melinda	Portland, OR	20	White	12th Grade	Full-time
James	Atlanta, GA	19	Black	Completed 9th Grade	Part-time
Lawanda	Decatur, GA	16	Black	10th Grade	None
Vinko	Houston, TX	20	Hispanic	-	None
David	Houston, TX	18	Hispanic	11th Grade	Part-time
Hayde	Missouri City, TX	17	Hispanic	Completed 12th Grade	Part-time
Carmen	Houston, TX	21	Black	3rd/4th Year College	Part-time

OVERVIEW OF THE ONE-ON-ONE RESPONDENTS

NAME	CITY, STATE	AGE	RACIAL/ ETHNIC BACKGROUND	EDUCATION	EMPLOYMENT
Anna	Providence, RI	17	White	12th Grade	None
Hassen	Lincoln, RI	17	White	12th Grade	None
Carrie	Jackson, MS	19	White	1st/2nd Year College	Part-time
Richard	Hazlehurst, MS	18	Black	1st/2nd Year College	Part-time
Christi	Hazlehurst, MS	18	Black	1st/2nd Year College	None
Aaron	Albuquerque, NM	20	White	Technical/ Vocational School	Part-time
Sarah	Albuquerque, NM	16	White	11th Grade	None
Uriel	Pinellas Park, FL	21	Hispanic	Completed Technical/ Vocational School	Full-time
Cynthia	Pinellas Park, FL	19	Hispanic	12th Grade	Part-time
Suyin	St. Petersburg, FL	16	Hispanic	10th Grade	Part-time
Ramón	Pinellas Park, FL	19	Hispanic	Completed 12th Grade	Full-time
Megan	Munroe Falls, OH	23	White	3rd/4th Year College	Part-time
Tim	North Canton, OH	20	White	1st/2nd Year College	Part-time
Lucky	San Francisco, CA	17	Asian	11th Grade	None
Toubi	San Francisco, CA	15	Asian	9th Grade	Part-time
Peter	San Francisco, CA	23	Asian	12th Grade	Full-time
Lisa	San Francisco, CA	19	Asian	1st/2nd Year College	None
Jason	Roebuck, SC	15	White	8th Or Below	Part-time
Lori	Spartanburg, SC	21	White	3rd/4th Year College	Part-time

OVERVIEW OF THE ONE-ON-ONE RESPONDENTS

NAME	CITY, STATE	AGE	RACIAL/ ETHNIC BACKGROUND	EDUCATION	EMPLOYMENT
Sara	Fairfax, VA	18	White	1st/2nd Year College	Part-time
Eileen	Virginia Beach, VA	18	Asian	1st/2nd Year College	None
Kristin	Fairfax, VA	18	White	1st/2nd Year College	None
Chris	Bronx, NY	21	Black	Completed 12th Grade	Full-time
Felix	Bronx, NY	16	Hispanic	11th Grade	None
Adaliz	Bronx, NY	19	Hispanic	9th Grade	None
Shawnise	Bronx, NY	17	Black	12th Grade	Part-time
Byron	Los Angeles, CA	22	Black	Completed 10th Grade	None
Sharon	Los Angeles, CA	18	Black	12th Grade	Part-time
Jimmy	Long Beach, CA	23	Black	Completed 12th Grade	Full-time
Felicia	Detroit, MI	19	Black	Completed 10th Grade	None
Daniel	Detroit, MI	15	Black	8th Grade	None
Beverly	Middletown, DE	23	White	12th Grade	Part-time
Wayne	Middletown, DE	21	White	12th Grade	None
David	Montvale, NJ	21	White	Graduate School	Full-time
Caren	Spring Valley, NY	20	White	1st/2nd Year College	None
Mac	Minneapolis, MN	18	White	1st/2nd Year College	None
Anne	Roseville, MN	18	White	12th Grade	None
Andy	St. Paul, MN	17	White	12th Grade	None
Fermin	Miami, FL	18	Hispanic	12th Grade	Full-time
Christina	Miami, FL	15	Black	10th Grade	Part-time
Nelson	Miami, FL	19	Hispanic	Completed 12th Grade	None

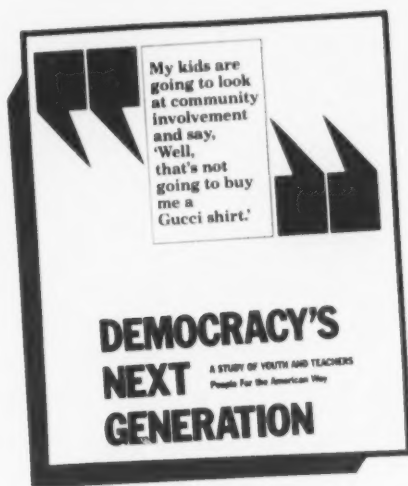
OVERVIEW OF THE ONE-ON-ONE RESPONDENTS

NAME	CITY, STATE	AGE	RACIAL/ ETHNIC BACKGROUND	EDUCATION	EMPLOYMENT
Ana	Miami, FL	16	Hispanic	11th Grade	None
Sandra	Miami, FL	19	Hispanic	Completed 12th Grade	None
Andrea	Chicago, IL	21	Black	12th Grade	None
Carlos	Chicago, IL	19	Black	12th Grade	None
Otis	Washington, DC	17	Black	12th Grade	Part-time
Kim	Washington, DC	19	Black	Completed 12th Grade	None
Tracey	Washington, DC	15	Black	10th Grade	None
Sean	Washington, DC	21	Black	12th Grade	Full-time
Wendi	Alexandria, VA	23	White	1st/2nd Year College	Part-time
Raymond	Arlington, VA	19	Asian	1st/2nd Year College	Part-time
Steven	Arlington, VA	20	White	1st/2nd Year College	None
Dawn	Des Moines, IA	21	White	1st/2nd Year College	-
Monica	Des Moines, IA	20	White	-	-
Evanthia	Davis, CA	21	White	-	-
Marjorie	Stanford, CA	21	Asian	3rd/4th Year College	-

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